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Where is the fat lady when you need her?

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be more peaceful
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2008

A MACLEAN'S EXCLUSIVE

EVERY PARENT'S NIGHTMARE

Grammy winner DAN HILL lived a quiet, middle-class life until his son's new friends dragged the family into a world of fear and violence P.48

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**Inside Pakistan's
danger zones P.28**



MORE THAN JUST A CARD

WILLIAM J. HARRIS, JR.

This week on the Web

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Canada World Business Science Culture Education

Behind the music

The author of this week's cover story is best known for his 1977 hit song, *Somewhere When We Touch*. But there's much more to Dan Hill: from his activist family to his current songwriting credits and his personal competition with Bruce Cockburn.

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WEB EXCLUSIVES



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Jaime J. Weinman

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TOP STORIES THIS WEEK

We need JFK DNA

With Vanity Fair's help, a Vancouver-based fan club is trying to prove her the third child of John F. Kennedy. Maclean's asks, "Was there any other?"

Still waiting

Comedians are waiting about wait times for medical treatment more than ever, a new survey shows. And with an all-time high of 11.1 million for access to treatment, it's no wonder surgical tourism is becoming more popular.

War on drugs: prison edition

How can there be a drug problem in Canada's most secure environments, and why doesn't anybody care?

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'Bell never used Elisha Gray's idea and so did not infringe on any intellectual property'

SCOLIOSIS CONTROVERSY

I WOULD LIKE to thank Sharon Dunn for sharing her information about scoliosis ("Muscular brace," Health, Feb. 4). Our daughter, now at her 18th, was diagnosed with it as a child and referred to the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto. We were told the same story—nothing we can do, but surgery is not recommended at this time. It is sad that a brace developed here in Canada is not supported by all of the provincial health ministries. Surely the cost of the SpineCor brace for a child is far less than the cost of surgery for an adult 15 years later, not to mention that it is a far better and safer choice.

Bob McIver, Clifton, Ont.

AS AN ADULT scoliosis came and is a graduate nurse from the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto, I can't believe what I've read about English-Canadian ignoring the SpineCor brace, as opposed to a doctor here in Montreal at Sainte-Justine's Hospital. Parents should be appalled.

Jan O'Neill, Westmount, Que.

THIS ARTICLE made me wish I could have used the SpineCor brace myself. However, it saddened me to think of parents who might be reading that whose children have no choice but to get the spinal fusion surgery. The very year writer portrayed people who have had the spinal fusion was, at the very least, outdated. In November 1996, my doctor discovered an 80-degree curve in my spine and decided there was no other choice for me but to get the surgery. I had spinal fusion performed at Vancouver Children's Hospital in February 1997 at the age of 41. Had my rods implanted in my spine and all the vertebrae were fused except one at the lumbar spine. I was told they could not straighten my spine, just stop it from getting worse.

I was overjoyed when the surgery was performed and I found life to be pretty painless. When, at age 28, I ran 6 1/2 miles and felt healthy, I experienced a dramatic decline in any pain. I am now nine months pregnant and throughout the pregnancy I have maintained pain-free sleep for a few bad days. I may one day have to have my last vertebra fused to prevent future arthritis problems, but could there be any pain with the surgery. Perhaps Dunn could have done a little more research on successful

uses of spinal fusion and not just made the decision all that much harder and more uncomfortable for parents of children with severe scoliosis.

Elisha Nyland, Victoria

THE AL SHAMAL SHIRAZIS of Edmonton and Northern Alberta have recently enrolled to 1 million, of which 850,000 has been paid, to the Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry at the University of Alberta, for research into the cause of and to find a cure for scoliosis. With this dedication and commitment it is anticipated that this painful disability will soon be no more. In the meantime, the Shirazis of Canada, and for that matter all of North America, are willing to assist scoliosis sufferers medically and their parents financially.

Alfred Manning

Lloydminster, Sask.

SHARON DUNN was an astute adolescent who putative scoliosis is not understood by the medical profession. Spinal curvature starts with a minor irritation to the segmental nerve. This causes muscle shortening on that side of the spine, pulling it down to cause a curvature. The condition quickly responds to release of the muscle shortening by needling the muscle. (This procedure is called intramuscular needling, and although an acupuncture needle is used, it is not traditional acupuncture.) Controlling the right spinal segment is important.

Dr. C. Chao, Vancouver, President, Institute for the Study and Treatment of Pain, Vancouver

HOBBY HORSES

I AM SORRY that my first letter to Maclean's isn't about something more substantial, but I just have to let you know how grateful I was by two references in the article on scrippbook.org to father "subscribing" their own children ("scrippbook widows get angrier," Hatz, Feb. 4). The definition of subscribing in the American Heritage Dictionary is "to take care of child or children in the absence

of parent or guardian." When I see language like this said, I really wonder whether women have made much progress in changing the perception of parenthood. You don't often hear mothers describing the care they give their own children as "subscribing."

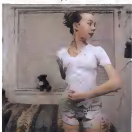
Martha Russell, Courtenay, B.C.

SUCH A DISAPPOINTING and negative article about scrippbook. Millions of people are enjoying this hobby and preserving their family histories. Too bad you had to trash them.

R. Anne MacKenzie, Senior Institutional Programs Administrator, Chair, Internal Programs Administration, Research Services Office, University of Alberta, Edmonton

A RINGING ENDORSEMENT

BRIAN KETTERER's discussion about Seth Shulman's book *The Wikipedia Gamble* have confused the question of whether Alexander Graham Bell stole from American inventor Elisha Gray ("Did Bell steal the idea for the



FUSION vs. the SpineCor readers dispute both for scoliosis.

phone?") History, Feb. 4). Perhaps could have explained better by explaining Shulman's opinion and sticking to facts, first of telephone technology, second of patent law. Sound can be converted to electrical impulses by vibrating a diaphragm. The telephone problem is to get the mechanical motion to modify an electric current. The standard history is that Bell formalized the problem in



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CEO, Microsoft Blackberry

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"Thanks for the excellent article on Whistler. I'm sure taxpayers reading it will feel better about the \$2 billion or so going to support the two-week super-party there in 2010."

1974, proposed a solution by having a bit of steel shoring up a magnetic field, and had a working, but not good, model by mid-1979.

On Feb. 14, 1978, Bell filed a telephone patent application. On the same day, Eliaha Gray filed a patent caveat for a different idea, which was that the current would flow through a wire, then a needle, then water, then another wire, and if the needle was vibrated, the current in the second wire would be modified. It appears that Bell had read Gray's caveat, since Shulman shows that on March 5, Bell drew in his notebook a diagram that is functionally identical to Gray's drawing. But things pattern or caveat has three effects: 1) the idea is made public (and it must be an original idea, not previously published), 2) if a patent is granted, the inventor gets sole commercial use of the idea for a few years, 3) after that, everybody else can use the idea freely. By the end of the day on Feb. 14, Bell and Gray had a right to read each other's applications, but not to use them commercially. Bell later qualified the caveat known about Gray's idea, but he never made any use of it, and so did not infringe on commercial property.

Dennis Hershkowitz, Cupertino, E.C.

TAXES, SHORT AND SWEET

I REALLY ENJOYED Andrew Coyne's article on changing the tax system into something that is sensible. "Do your taxes on a postcard before time, and money?" Optimum, Jan. 18. The last time the system was supposedly

"fixed" it went from bad to worse. It is nice to see that a think tank like the Fraser Institute is capable of doing any only question is what took it so long? I have been telling everybody who would listen that Canadians need a flat tax. The system now just penalizes the high-income earners and forgets about the high-income brackets. The top tax bracket now is supposed to be 29 per cent. Guess again. I was paying upwards of 35 per cent when I was still working, and with all the other special taxes, there was no way to get ahead. I am not tax lawyers and accountants getting upset because they would not be needed anymore. Besides, where would the Greys live if not at Revenue Canada? Charles Masson, Henryville, Ind.

THE END ZONE

I WAS VERY SADDESSSED to read about the death of Tim Lincecum and his son, Perry Allouba (The End, Feb. 4). It was so unnecessary. As an avid hunter for all of my 40-plus years, the first thing I do when I am going to hunt or searching is unload the gun. I know of no hunter who would put a loaded gun in the back of a truck, with or without dogs. Rod Roberts, Nixa, Mo., E.C.

WHY WOULD YOU waste paper on Perry Paine? His only accomplishment was a lifetime of water destruction. It's ironic that he was killed with his own gun, but the water is better place without him. Karl Darrington, Toronto

I would like to make a suggestion. The stories of snowmen live on your last page, The End, leave me feeling sad. Since most of your stories already deal with crises and problems, it would be great if you could and your magazine with an uplifting story, maybe pertaining to climate change and the environment.

Allan Koo, Haverhill, Ont.

KING OF THE HILLS

AWAYING LIVES IN Whistler, B.C., off and on for the past three years, I thought I would share with you a few things you probably didn't know about "Whistler." The other side of the mountain, "Squamish, Feb. 4) I bet you didn't know that the spa intended for handling you a towel as a computer science graduate who just developed a new database for that same program or the hotel. If you didn't know that the young woman at guest relations receiving your first glove is attending law school in the fall or that your skier's car was returned from volunteering at an orphanage in Africa.

The Whistler I know is full of bright, educated young people who are simply seeking the real world a little bit longer. Not all of us are here for the sex, drugs and powder—although no one is going to complain about a little powder. What we are here for is the lifelong friendships, the love of the snow and possibly the riches at Merble's. That said, with over 46 ft of snow last year and the most stable terrain in North Amer-

ica, you should probably come check it out for yourself.

Melissa Proulx,
Whistler, B.C., and Vancouver

YOUR STORY CONTAINS my advice that the further away from Whistler a story about Whistler is published, the greater the odds it is a good one. For instance, the academic journal that would have been published in Whistler at 14,000 ft, at the top of a glacier. The highest peak in the Whistler region is Wedge Mountain at just over 9,500 ft. Whistler is no longer a small town with schools, families with kids and next pages, and people with regular jobs or morning businesses. The kind of resort fantasy life that is described in your story does exist, but it is only a small part of the Whistler experience.

Julie Hoffmeyer, Whistler, B.C.

THANKS for the excellent article on Whistler. I am sure that taxpayers reading it will feel better about the \$2 billion or so going to support the two-week super-party there in 2010. Let's hope the "free" publicity of the Olympic will be enough to keep those \$400 hotel rooms filled and all the tax and money crowd. Some teenagers waiting in their minivan to get the Gary McKay, Port Alberni, B.C.

TALKING DIRTY IN OTTAWA

RECORD TO MADONNA for Son Fendrick's column on SonFendrick.com. The adult-themed consumer trade show in Ottawa ("Open, toys, handcuffs, and one registered columnist," Comment, Feb. 4). Fendrick appropriately captured the quiet in this place about the fine such show elevated in all things sexual in this city. I liked the fact that he treated the transportation to remind readers that Ottawa is a city known for its research and innovation. The sub-

ject matter for my seminar, "Dirty Talk in Five Easy Steps," was, in my mind, a logical choice. I wrote scripts and scripts revised that, in effect, talk dirty to readers.

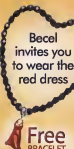
I think most couples would agree that modern relationships are constantly besieged by competing life pressures. Having good sex is an integral aspect of a relationship, but clearly not easily achieved. That's why it was my pleasure to help equip people with the sexual skills of speaking sexy. Being a political magazine, and literary too, Madam's can attest to the fact that words have the power to influence and affect change. I had not anticipated the attendance, which exceeded 70 people. This other tells me that the subject of dirty talk needs to be talked about more often, as Ottawans are anxious to reject some common ideas into their otherwise conservative sex lives.

Patricia Kathleen McCarthy, Ottawa

IN PASSING

ROY SCHULDER, 80, a well-known actor in the 1970s, died on Feb. 4. He was born in 1937 in the Bronx, N.Y., and moved to Los Angeles in 1957. He was married to actress Jane Fonda. He was a member of the Academy Awards, for playing a cop opposite Gene Hackman in 1971's *The French Connection*, and as a prison guard in 1975's *Shogun*. He was also a member of the Screen Actors Guild.

Makulaha Mahesh Vighi, 91, passed away on Feb. 4. He was a well-known actor in the 1970s, and was married to actress Jane Fonda. He was a member of the Academy Awards, for playing a cop opposite Gene Hackman in 1971's *The French Connection*, and as a prison guard in 1975's *Shogun*. He was also a member of the Screen Actors Guild.



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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF AMY WINEHOUSE

Last week, the *Alibab* singer, newly out of rehab, applied for a U.S. travel visa to perform at the Grammy Awards, where she was nominated in six categories. Her application was denied by the U.S. Embassy in London, but later granted upon appeal. Winehouse elected to perform via satellite. On Sunday, her husband, Blake Fielder-Civil, wrote her a note from prison, where he's awaiting trial after a pub brawl, begging her not to leave him. That night, she won five Grammys.

Good news

Bear necessities

Last month, McCain published a cover story on the megapolluter over whether polar bears should be listed as a threatened species. This week, Environment Minister Jobidon faultily weighed in. Round wisely told reporters at Ignite, Montreal, that Canada will base its decision on the knowledge of local Inuit communities, not just on the opinions of a few biologists and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which imposed a rule on the matter in the early days. But that's about polar bear policy; it's a welcome change from department that had previously refused to enter the debate, or even let its scientists speak freely to the media. This morning is long overdue.

Old enough to die...

South Carolina state Rep. Fletcher Smith is catching flak for his proposed bill to investigate senile and women drink alcohol if they show their military ID. The lawmaker is drinking up to 12 from 18 co-sponsors with federal law in 2004. Fletcher's plan is denounced by local safety advocates, and the bill may cost 30 percent of its high-way money if it goes ahead. But Fletcher's intent is well known: soldiers are killing and dying, and being injured in Iraq and Afghanistan, only to be sent off to old age homes where they roam home. Bushwacker is the least of their worries. If they're old enough to die for their country, they're old enough to have a drink.

So long, diet soda

Here's off to Mike Carner, the mayor of Oklahoma City. Fed up with being the leader of "America's fast-food capital" (more than six quarters of local adults are officially obese), he

challenged his constituents to go on a collective diet. He got announced while standing in front of a elephant cage at the city zoo—is he making a food-related combined one million pounds? At last count, more than 15,000 people have heeded Carner's call, dropping a total of 26,000 lbs. Not a bad start. A word to the wise, though, Mr. Mayor: don't encourage your followers to use exercise instead of sugar. A new study suggests it actually triggers weight gain.

FACE OF THE WEEK



TWIST AND SHOUT: Paul McCartney leaves a British divorce court. He is locked in a heated battle with Heather Mills over his fortune.

For love and money

Sure, it may be a crisis, contractual holiday. But for a troubled economy, Volcano's Day is truly a heartwarming event. According to a new survey by the U.S. National Retail Federation, Americans spend \$58.17 billion on chocolates, jewelry and other heart-shaped trinkets for their loved ones. And the Feb. 14 spending frenzy isn't restricted to significant others. The survey found consumers plan to spend \$38.96 million on friends, \$407 million on co-workers, and \$135 million on pets. Retailers are the ones feeling the love.

Bad news

Glitto heave-ho

For six years, the United States has been holding suspected terrorists in legal limbo at Guantanamo Bay. Prosecutors have charged a perpetual detention without trial, or the possession of the Geneva Convention. Now the Americans finally appear ready to begin prosecution. On Monday, they announced charges against an alleged 9/11 co-sponsor. But the trials seem destined to fall short of justice. The ongoing military tribunals

The sons also rise

After months of media speculation, a man in Vancouver comes forward to claim that he is the illegitimate son of John F. Kennedy. His identity has yet to be confirmed. In Britain, the courts agreed to hear the case of a 52-year-old man who hopes to prove he's the child of Princess Margaret. Not to ruin an anyone's right to self-determination, but don't we already have enough obscure Kennedys and royalists to read about in the tab?

It had to be me

This solace, lonely hearts: You're not really alone. A recent Ipsos survey found that at least eight million Americans (yes, eight million!) will send themselves flowers or other non-work gifts this Valentine's Day. It seems the only thing worse than being single on Feb. 14 is letting your co-workers know that you don't have a date. Unfortunately, people in Saudi Arabia will have to think of a different ruse. The country's religious police have temporarily banned the sale of red roses because they encourage "un-Islamic" relations between unmarried men and women.

The littles prisoner

A female prisoner in British Columbia has a new colleague: her baby daughter. Lian Whitford, a recovering drug addict who killed her newborn, has been granted permission to raise her newborn behind bars. Child welfare authorities



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THROUGH THE MINEFIELD

On to the next conflict, now that Afghanistan's seemingly settled

BY JOHN GORDON • The trigger for the next federal election has variously been pegged as Afghanistan, the upcoming budget, over crime legislation. It depends on who's talking, on what day, and possibly on the phase of the moon. When it comes to which issue Stephen Harper's minority will fall on, conventional wisdom has shifted so often lately

that it's clearly more preposterous than conventional. As far as most of it's wisdom, well, only the final act at a production—where speculation happens to be in the air just before the government finally adjoins will have a better claim to being anything more than guesswork.

Still, memories do eventually fade, and of the issues Harper might lose a confidence vote on is the House. Canada's fourth rule in Afghanistan has commanded by far the most serious attention. A matter of war and peace is undeniably weighty enough to fight an election over. But this week's signs of compromise between Harper and Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion left little doubt neither really want to go to the polls over the mission in Kandahar. Within an hour of Dion telling a news conference Tuesday morning that he was exploring "common ground" on extending the mission, Harper was echoing: "The government's objective is to seek out common ground here."

It seems Afghanistan doesn't fit either party's preferred story line in what might be called the battle of the negative narratives. As they push for a pre-election election, Harper and Dion are each trying to tell a tale that defines the other party's public legislation, and not in flattering terms. Darrell Bricker, veteran publisher and president of Ipsos Reilpublic Affairs/Toronto, reminds us the staffing rooms like that: Liberal depict Harper as "a mean, difficult guy who doesn't really listen to other people," and Conservatives cast Dion as "weak and erratic, not ready for prime time."

The Afghanistan epic, however, increasingly refuses to fit neatly into either party's story arc. It's not always so. Back in 2006, Harper's own rhetoric often showcased his tough talking, Republican-sounding side

He strongly urged continued his personal commitment to fighting the "billion with national character." "Caring and running is not my way," he told troops in Kandahar in 2006, "and it's not the Canadian way." By mid-2007, though, he was running down the beltway, instead emphasizing reconstruction and aid. By appointing the bipartisan John Marley panel to advise him on the way forward, and then quickly accepting its main advice last month, he made it hard for Liberals to do just him as a voracious warrior. For Dion, the risk was that any watering

SOME TORIES DEBATE BRINGING ON THEIR OWN FALL BEFORE BAD ECONOMIC NEWS HURTS THEM

of Afghanistan would turn into a first Tory story about his indecisiveness. He couldn't get his long-standing demand for Canada's combat mission in Kandahar to end by February 2008, or allow any public rift among staunch Liberal MPs. His solution: let the mission continue, but restrict troops to defend the reconstruction, and red aggressive counter-insurgency. It was good enough for his MPs not to break ranks. For Tories pushing their narrative about the upcoming Dion, Liberal unity behind a firm position wasn't a helpful development.

So Afghanistan has given Harper a chance to show he can take advice and seek common sense, and Dion an opportunity to demonstrate he can hang tough and refuse party discipline. Not bad for an issue that not long ago looked like a minefield for both Liberals and

of room for partisan positioning on Afghanistan, or even an outright failure of efforts to harmonize the Tory motion to extend the mission with a Liberal intention to limit the fighting troops can do. But party strategies are already cooking on in new issues around which they can tell these campaign-fighting stories.

If Afghanistan is ultimately defeated, the next most explosive bit of House business will surely be the Feb. 26 budget. Finance Minister Jim Flaherty has been making out a position of strict fiscal discipline

to have little choice. Big unions announced last fall claimed whoever loses they might have had far shorter-term stimulus measures this spring.

But even if Harper is bound in, he might be able to turn a no-income, stand-pat budget to his advantage. John Duffy, a veteran Liberal strategist and political consultant with StrategyCorp in Toronto, says the Prime Minister looks well positioned if economic uncertainty, combined with ongoing anxiety over Afghanistan and Iraq, alternates public mood. Duffy suggests 1970s-style strategy might be used to replace 1990s-born complacency. "A lot of people have forgotten," he says, "what politics was like in Canada when people

Afghanistan." The result of Harper's story "in a period of uncertainty, he's the political leader with the soundest judgment about what's best for Canadians."

If Harper is adapting to some unsettling times, Dion will need to adjust too. The Liberal leader's "house plan" focuses on economic growth, social justice, and environmental sustainability. But upholding a promise for good times could begin to sound naive if anxiety sets in. "The Liberal story about being richer, faster, greener, safer

from 31 per cent to 30 per cent over the past year, while those who view him as having the best vision has dropped from 39 to 31 per cent. He is much more realistic on competition, where he lost of the brand ranking slipped only slightly from 41 per cent a year ago to 39 per cent early this month. (Dion is seen as most competent by 51 per cent, not great, but up five percentage points from a year ago.)

If Tories imagine packaging Harper as a solid PM for another crisis will allow them to gain ground in a downturn, they're bet on gain against history. More often, governments are reeled out after economic rough patch. With that history in mind, some Liberal MPs argue they should hold off on following Harper's minority with a U.S. revision that could undermine Canada. At the same time, they fear the Tories might orchestrate their own fall before any bad economic news hits. An election on the economy, though, would have the parties trying to down each other out by telling the same story about each other. This week, a Tory memo made "incision spending" a key attack line against the Liberals. But Liberal MP John McCallum, Dion's finance critic, is charging Conservatives with "spending like crazy" for the past year to leave themselves in a tight position now.

Aside from the state of the economy, public disgust over government ethical lapses is arguably the most reliable vote driver, when it comes. Paul Martin fought the upcoming election on both his campaign as Liberal prime minister. Bricker says Martin succeeded in 2004 by giving an even more gripping story about "risk and hidden agendas" on Harper. But in 2006, Harper managed to "construct a narrative about corruption" that stuck to Martin, and allowed the Tories to triumph.

These days, Liberals seem less interested in weaving the old secret-agenda story about Harper than trying to spin a new one about Tory accountability. In most of cases, Liberal MPs have chastised worry at Flaherty over his admission he broke rules to get an emergency \$12.2-billion contract to a Tory speech writer. They've taken on Finance Minister John Baird over his alleged tampering in last year's Ontario provincial election. And Liberals plan to try impacting new laws into the well-entrenched dispute between the Conservatives and Elections Canada, over the federal election regulator's charge that the Tories broke spending rules on campaign advertising in the 2006 race.

None of these bets to undermine Harper's beliefs about common sense government have yet entered the public consciousness. So far, they haven't added up, as effective campaign fodder must, to a good story to tell.

Harper is adapting to some unsettling times, Dion will need to adjust too. The Liberal leader's "house plan" focuses on economic growth, social justice, and environmental sustainability. But upholding a promise for good times could begin to sound naive if anxiety sets in. "The Liberal story about being richer, faster, greener, safer



STEPHEN HARPER looked down the beltway on the mission, while Dion struggled to keep cracks from showing in his capacious support. Both claimed to seek "common ground."



Tories. Of course, the climate of cordial cooperation between the two main parties in the House can't last. Three months plenty

"It's not going to be the finance minister that puts our country back on its feet," Flaherty vowed this week. He is pushing back hard against pressure to sweeten either spending or cut cases further to show up the Canadian economy against expected trouble the U.S. downturn. Harper begrudgingly declaring the budget would not contain any significant new spending or tax cuts as long as his pre-Christmas media interviews. In fact, the Tories

as the media class were very worried about whether they was going to be able to hang on to what they had."

And a worried election year was to hear a story about a re-emerging leader. "If we're heading back to the politics of a minority," Duffy says, "the question would be, 'Who's got the new message?' Harper has been moving toward that narrative since his pre-Christmas interview. "Blistering expectations on the budget. Undermining what difficult and complex decisions we face on

night already as it's able to explain an economic downturn by pushing himself as the firm hand on the wheel whose obvious appeal for Tories. It doesn't require them to convert voters to like the Prime Minister, just respect him. Pairs suggest plain ability to do the job is Harper's strongest selling point. According to the CPAC News Leadership Index, Harper for campaign Dion's fear for unemployment, votes and compromise that the share of Canadians who rate Harper the most trustworthy has slipped

from 31 per cent to 30 per cent over the past year, while those who view him as having the best vision has dropped from 39 to 31 per cent. He is much more realistic on competition, where he lost of the brand ranking slipped only slightly from 41 per cent a year ago to 39 per cent early this month. (Dion is seen as most competent by 51 per cent, not great, but up five percentage points from a year ago.)

If Tories imagine packaging Harper as a solid PM for another crisis will allow them to gain ground in a downturn, they're bet on gain against history. More often, governments are reeled out after economic rough patch. With that history in mind, some Liberal MPs argue they should hold off on following Harper's minority with a U.S. revision that could undermine Canada. At the same time, they fear the Tories might orchestrate their own fall before any bad economic news hits. An election on the economy, though, would have the parties trying to down each other out by telling the same story about each other. This week, a Tory memo made "incision spending" a key attack line against the Liberals. But Liberal MP John McCallum, Dion's finance critic, is charging Conservatives with "spending like crazy" for the past year to leave themselves in a tight position now.

[Innovation in Action]

Working together against Identity Theft



Identity fraud is a growing problem that is estimated to cost Canadians \$2 billion a year — plus time, inconvenience and stress. In an interview for *Maclean's* readers, Nigel Brown, Managing Consultant with IBM Global Technology Services IT Security, Privacy and Identity Management Practice, reveals how you can protect your personal data.

“Identity theft is becoming increasingly visible because more and more of our lives are being put online.”



◀ Nigel Brown, Managing Consultant with IBM Global Technology Services IT Security, Privacy and Identity Management Practice

Q Can you explain what identity theft is, and how Canadians are being victimized?

A Identity theft generally describes a case where stolen personal information is used to open up “credit” (credit cards, telephone service) or services such as credit cards, or new phone accounts, and basically live as your expense.

Q What consequences do we see from identity fraud? Who pays the bills?

A The costs are more and more being borne by the banks and merchants. But that still leaves a lot of consequences for the individual, especially the pain and headache of clearing their name. That includes shutting down all the accounts where they're being affected by identity theft, such as cancelling credit cards and restoring their credit rating. While it's growing pains, it will take a lot of effort and consumer action.

Q How can consumers protect themselves?

A You have to be what I call “hyper aware”, which is the online equivalent of “extra careful”. Think online and think, that's not a big, friendly world on the Internet. There are a lot of legitimate

people, but also people who don't have your best interests at heart.

If you get unsolicited requests for information, such as account numbers, be suspicious. If they don't come from a trusted source, ignore them.

If you are providing information to an organization you trust, find out more about them. Do they share your information with a third party? Online privacy statements will often tell you whether that's the case, and that can influence your decision in dealing with them.

Q Identity theft also takes place on a large scale, where entire corporate databases are lost or stolen. What trends are we seeing here?

A With large-scale data breaches, there are really two main causes. One is where the data breach happened because someone mistakenly tried to back it up and sent the information. But we're also seeing cases where, due to corruption or negligence, organizations have lost large amounts of data. In either case, that data can potentially be exploited for identity theft.

Q Why is identity theft becoming such a common crime now?

A Identity theft is becoming increasingly visible because more and more of our lives are being put online. Our personal data is more accessible from more places. It's also becoming more attractive as a criminal activity, because it's relatively easy to conduct, and the risks are relatively low.

Q How is identity theft being combated? What can actually be done about it?

A First, government needs to equip law enforcement with the right laws and the right tools to assist the criminal clearance process.

Industry also has to change. They have to recognize they're really custodians, not owners, of data. It's not their data — they have to understand what obligations they have to protect that information.

And individuals themselves have to take more responsibility in terms of their behaviour online and what information they volunteer.

Q How is the information technology industry responding to the rise of identity theft?

A Identity theft is becoming a huge priority for IT companies. They realize it's the key to the evolution of the Internet. If you can't be confident in processing personal information, then all kinds of great business ideas are going to stall.

At IBM, we're working on technology to strengthen the privacy of personal information, to help organizations implement “need-to-know” access — where only the people who need information can get it, and only when they need it.

There are technologies that help organizations analyze data usage, and monitor the information being captured from a company. There are also many design approaches, such as data creation security, that focus on the responsible use of personal information.

Q Can you foresee a point when we'll have the products and systems in place that we can put this problem behind us? Can we end the problem of identity theft?

A I think we can go a long way to solving the problem of identity theft. We may never end it, but we can go to a stage where people will no longer be forced to put up with it.

To view the interview, please visit www.macleans.ca/ibm

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NATIONAL



BLOC MP, under Duquenne's command, have been on the hill longer, on average, than the NDP's and even the governing Conservatives.

ARE YOU STILL HERE?

The Bloc is so deeply entrenched in Ottawa, it's almost forgotten why it's there

BY MARTIN PATRICKSON • The ghosts of language battles past haunted Quebec in January, and few could have been happier than Bloc Québécois Leader Gilles Duquenne. First, a popular pollster garnered three days' worth of headlines when his report, posing as an unilingual anglophone, managed to find work at 15 Montreal-area businesses. Then, a prominent Quebec demographer claimed the Charest government had blocked the release of his study showing the steady decrease in the number of Francophones living in Montreal.

The scorching fire provided ideal fodder for Duquenne, who is giving his avowed party a redaction. Using rhetoric harkening back to the days when many Quebecers saw themselves as the only Quebecers in the city of the book *White Niggers of America*, Duquenne likened federal

politicians from Quebec, particularly the Tories, who took several seats from the Bloc in the 2004 election, as culturally challenged just men who do nothing to help the province. Stomping for his latest crusade—a call for Bill 101 to apply to all federal institutions in Quebec, effectively making the federal government French only in the province—Duquenne declared: “I say to all the Quebecers from Quebec that are in Ottawa who say to us, ‘If you want to enforce French, do it in Quebec; it’s time for them to act if they are serious about recognizing Quebec as a nation.’”

Duquenne’s strategy to reengineer the language wars may be simple pre-election strategy. Or it may be something more. His heated rhetoric comes at a time when some founding members of the Bloc, as well as some prominent sovereigntists, question the party’s very existence in Ottawa. “The Bloc’s role as a watchdog would be better served today by a party that has a chance to get into power,” says Mac LeBlanc, founding vice-president of the Bloc, who last year joined the Conservatives

party. “I left the party in 1997 because it no longer had a place in Ottawa.” Former Progressive chapter president Catherine Fure, who signed no open letter calling for a dissolution of the Bloc last year, would agree. “I left the Bloc because it’s time to do something else,” she told *Le Soleil* at the time.

Given the party’s founding mandate, it’s impressive the Bloc has lasted this long. Lucien Bouchard created the party in 1991 solely as an instrument of Quebec independence: by design, the party would exist to exist after a referendum, regardless of the outcome. Bouchard warned of “extreme politicians” who would “hobble” the party’s future: “Should the party remain in Ottawa any longer? Even though he wound up leader of the official opposition in 1995, he nevertheless took his own advice and left Ottawa for the PQ after the referendum defeat in 1995.

Yet far from disappearing, you might say the Bloc has become part of the furniture: its MPs have, on average, been on the Hill longer than the NDP’s, not to mention the governing Conservatives’. The party has a well-worn three institutions of the current Conservative party, as well as five Tory, two Liberal and two NDP leaders. Its MPs regularly represent the economy on the world stage—including MP Francine Lalonde, who, until recently, was vice chair of the Foreign Affairs and International Development Committee and “a great spokesperson for Canada,” according to Liberal MP Don Len. Last November,

JACQUES BOUCHARD/CPA; GILLES DUQUENNE/REUTERS; DONALD FREEMAN

Lalonde called former PM Lester B. Pearson "a giant" and "one of the greatest figures of our country," and dismissed the Harper government for not properly honoring him.

"It has become an entrenched, traditional party," says Maurice Corbin, who wrote a book on the Bloc's early days. "It's asking to see how many lies that have nothing to do with sovereignty, when it's after the Bloc creating common fronts in Ottawa."

Does *yes* mean that the Bloc's crucial relationship with the NDP, as a Bloc bill relaxing the restrictions on employment insurance, for instance. He was an early supporter of Canada's mission in Afghanistan (though he has since changed his tone), and remains a staunch defender of the national flag. Along with the Liberal and the NDP, he has criticized the Conservative energy policy and its failure to defend the Kyoto accord. After a 2006 election, Duceppe's support of the government—the Bloc voted in favour of two budgets—has allowed the Conservatives their longest ever minority terms.

The Bloc today is perhaps best known for the quality of its MPs and their dogged participation in parliamentary committees.

ONCE YOU SCRATCH BELOW THE SURFACE, SAYS A LIBERAL MP, THEY BECOME LIKE ALL OF US

"Once you scratch below the surface, once you go into committees, they become like all of us," says Liberal MP Luc Tremblay, who co-chairs the health committee with Bloc MP Christine Gagnon. "She's thoughtful, engaged, balanced and very open-minded." Tremblay says of Tremblay: "Gagnon can also speak out on the floor of the House of Commons, and as women's issues, and for years on an all-Canada Heritage committee co-chaired by Anne Auger—another Bloc MP."

A consistent sovereignist who opposes Canada's multicultural policy, Tremblay nonetheless oversees a committee mandated to foster national unity and "enhance the multicultural reality of Canada." Even stronger, according to Liberal MP Michael Sauter, who co-chairs Heritage with her, she was a staunch supporter of CBC and Radio-Canada during the committee's recent criticism of the national broadcaster. "The CBC is an institution that, if it comes out to mean that we hate Canadians and understand each other better," he says. "Would that that would negatively affect the Bloc's objective."

To be sure, Bloc members hedge their involvement in national politics by saying they are the only ones who can defend "Quebec's interests." "We are there to make sure the federation doesn't work against us, and I

think we do an excellent job," says Bloc MP Valerie Blais (Barboursville). She is one of 26 parliamentary members, making her one of the busiest MPs on the Hill.

This council—that only seven Bloc members joined Quebec's interests—forms the Bloc's mission d'urgence wherever there is a bill in the legislative chamber in Quebec. The fact that the Parti Québécois is currently muzzled in third place, and its leader, Pauline Marois, is openly questioning the wisdom of a referendum any time soon, doesn't help. "Because the PQ no longer has a timetable on referendum, the Bloc has had to change its strategy," says Denis Marois, a Université de Montréal professor and Bloc supporter. The party, he says, had to back off on some of its sovereignty. "In a first, it forces the Bloc to be less confrontational than the Conservatives, making it less competitive."

"The Bloc's fundamental reason for coming to parliament is to fight for sovereignty," says Corbin. "At the same time, we have to accept federalism and not national unity." At the same time, he says, they have to accept federalism and not national unity. "At the same time, we have to accept federalism and not national unity."

Some of the leader's criticism has come from former supporters themselves. After the electoral defeat of André Bouchard and the PQ last spring, five prominent Québécois called for the dissolution of the Bloc, saying it was wasting resources from the sovereignist cause in Quebec. An internal report, commissioned by Duceppe following its surprise defeat in several ridings in 2006, spoke of the party's ideological dilemma.

"We believe there is a fundamental weakness within the Bloc that threatens its existence," wrote senior Hélène Allard, then the party's vice-president. Many Quebecers, the report noted, no longer see the members as the Bloc's leftist discourse and social policies, and are tired of voting for a party that will forever be in opposition. Denis Duceppe has been the chief of the Bloc's leadership since the Bloc for the PQ leadership race was won last year, only to quit when Pauline Marois announced her intention to run. More recently, he said he would consider a vote of confidence in his leadership of the Bloc won 13 seats in the next election. It currently holds 13.

At handouts on each election, the party that was never supposed to exist this long from a time of 100 to 100 MPs have come to be accepted and even admired in Ottawa, because of the people who used to be there are wondering why they bother.



CHEQUE IMBALANCES

For residential school survivors, payment woes cause new heartaches

BY JONATHAN GATKESHOE • When Clifford Brown can't forget, the federal government can't remember. Shortly before Christmas, the 66-year-old former Indian residential school student received his share of the Common Experience Payment (CEP)—the enterprise of a multi-billion dollar compensation deal for survivors of the church and state-run Aboriginal education system. It was \$5,000 less than he had expected. Ottawa, Brown was informed, has no record of the 20 years he spent living at St. Michael's School in Alert Bay, B.C., in the mid-1960s, those often abuse. "They said they couldn't find my records. That's our favourite word," he says. "I felt so disappointed. I went so long."

Putting a price on the trauma most does 80,000 Aboriginals experienced when they were placed in institutions that not only stripped them of their culture, but frequently subjected them to physical and sexual abuse, has always been a difficult proposition. The CEP—a lump sum of \$10,000 for the first year in residential school, and \$1,000 for each additional year—was only recent to be the beginning, with a truth and reconciliation process and compensation for individual abuse victims to follow. However, Ottawa's efforts have come up hard against a huge—unmanageable and missing—backlog. To date, of the 86,000 applications received, 14,000 have been ruled ineligible, and thousands more survivors have received less than they believe they are entitled to.

"The majority of our elders are in their 70s and 80s. It's a re-victimization," says Ted Quennesson, executive director of the National Residential School Survivors' Society. Quennesson's own cheque compensated

him for six years instead of the 12 he spent in two Saskatchewan schools. His organization receives 40 to 60 calls a day from former students with similar complaints. Many had anticipated gaps in government and church records, but few predicted the scale of the current difficulties. What is needed now, Quennesson says, is a coordinated response. "If we don't come up with a solution, who pays the price? The survivors."

Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada, the federal agency implementing the settlement, says many applications were rejected for other reasons—documents had not been submitted, or the former students died prior to the May 30, 2005, compensation cut-off date. Gina Wilson, the current deputy minister in charge, says she is uncertain how many personal payments have been issued, but her department has received more than 4,000 requests for "reconsideration" so far, and is logging 1,200 calls a day on its help-line. A staff of 500 researchers and 75 clerks are working to validate claims, says Wilson, combing through one million pages of docu-

mentation that stretch over 122 years. In cases where records are incomplete, acceptable proof includes survivors' own documents, photographs, or even swearing as simple as the names of staff, fellow students, or details of the school's architecture. "We

PBL: Pontreux with survivor Mary Housley (left), a residential school student



mentally recognize that there are people who are frustrated with the process, but much of this was anticipated in the agreement," says Wilson. "The survivors are being given the benefit of the doubt."

But even that reduced burden can be problematic. "Survivors are being asked to prove they went to residential school, which is

ridiculous," says Sharon Théri, executive director of the B.C. based Indian Residential School Survivors' Society. "Many of these people have been trying to forget this all their lives."

The end result is anger and confusion. Sylvester Green, a Vancouver resident, says he too was "short changed," compensated for only eight of his 10 years in an Indian residential school. "It's a play to keep as much money as they can," Green is close to tears as he discusses the alleged injustice laid on his life. Taken from his home on the Kwantlen reserve near Hazelton, B.C., at the age of six, the abuse he experienced led to a life of addiction, a devoted marriage, and six prison sentences for sexual assault. "The amount taken into the system," says Green, "is not what is needed to help bring a little bit of healing to a fellow student. 'People say it's in the past—forget about it, move on—but that's not right.' A person can't forget," says Green. "It still hurts. There is still pain and shame at 64 years of age. And it's going on and on!"

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Thanks to all who shared their stories and remember to keep on giving through savings!

Upon further review, it's still ridiculous

BY CHRIS HESLEY • In the best of circumstances, a case with the incoherence and Refugee Board as a stressful ordeal. For 10-year-old Pan Xian Xin, who argues she'll face persecution for her Christian beliefs if she's ordered back to China, that stress was compounded by the mother of all malapropisms: an attempt to list Xin's Christian beliefs, it seems RRB member Lily Oddie asked her what her favourite "parabola" was. Xin expressed confusion. "The shepherd and his



SHEPHERD and his sheep was the parabola—or parabola—in question

ten sheep would be a parabola," Oddie interpreted, at which point Xin provided a reasonable piece of the puzzle in question. Her refugee claim was successfully denied, per daily on grounds that she had "faked to establish credible and trustworthy evidence that she is or ever was a genuine Christian."

Federal Court Justice Leonard Marchand overruled that decision last month. What ever word was used, he argued, the RRB had insufficient evidence to impugn Xin's Christianity. And the matter might have died there, except for a letter to the National Post from the RRB. Upon further review, it said, original tapes from the proceeding are "fairly clear" that nobody said "parabola" at all.

RRB spokesman Charles Hawkins confirms that, despite the tabloid about what, exactly, was said, no one checked the tapes until after the Federal Court decision. That's because the RRB was out of the loop. They don't argue cases before the Federal Court, Hawkins says, they simply provide transcripts and back ground information to the government's lawyers. And while those lawyers did suggest a faulty transcript might be to blame for the confusion, it seems no one thought to actually go back and check. Hawkins says a new and improved transcript is on its way to Federal Court. Marina Mares, Xin's attorney, says he recalls "parabola" being used, but wants to see the tapes to know for sure. Xin, as you can, will have her claim retried. ■

'It was like a death in the family'

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • Last Friday, Jack Romanelli, the editor of the *Daily News* in Halifax, was pulling together a newspaper that ran a nice relation for a last-minute submission to the Maclean Award, a national journalism prize. The prize was an example, say observers, of the kind of original work being done at the paper under Romanelli's leadership. The tabloid had suffered under different owners and editors over the years, but seemed to be back on track. So nobody expected what happened on Monday morning, when the staff was told that that day's issue would be the last and the *Daily News* was unfortunately killed. "It was like a death in the family," says Stephen Kimber, a columnist at the paper and a journalism professor at the University of King's College.

The paper's owner, Transcontinental Media, said none of the 90 employees would be let go and a new daily tabloid, *Metro*, would be launched in place of the financially ailing *Daily News*. It was a surprising move, not only for how it seemed to blindside employees, but because *Metro*, a mainstream newspaper offered in cities like Toronto and Montreal, seems an odd fit for Halifax, which lacks the kind of popular mass transit system where the easy-to-discard *Metro* seems most at home. "It doesn't make editorial sense or economic sense," says Kimber.



A FREE tabloid will take the place of Halifax's scrappy 'Daily News'

Journalism in Halifax are now lamenting the passing of the *Daily News*, which hit its stride in the early 1990s covering political scandal and the fall of premier John Buchanan.

"Suddenly there's going to be fewer questions, fewer topics. Stories that would have appeared won't," says Dean Jubin, a King's journalism professor who worked for the *Daily News* in the 1990s. The scrappy paper never got to be well loved (circulation was a mere 20,000), but, says Kimber, "it's hard to imagine the city without that second paper." ■

In Calgary, a site for free downloading

BY CAMERON AINSWORTH-VINCE • Call it the urban exorcism. In an effort to provide much needed bathroom facilities in Calgary's downtown core, local officials have unveiled the city's first automated, self-cleaning public toilet. The shiny 12-by-6-ft. box, placed on Bowdoin Square—a busy park on 17th Avenue—



THE FIRST self-cleaning public toilet in Calgary cost \$250,000

cost the city \$250,000 and features a stainless steel sensory-operated seat, well-ventilated fixtures that can't be stolen, and soap-lathering water to brighten the overall experience. Purson cannot be stolen from change, and when their business is complete, the seat retracts into a secure compartment where it is disinfected with an antibacterial solution, the floor is sprayed with water jets, and the inside is dried with fans.

To ensure no one oversteers their welcome, a light flashes after nine minutes to warn users to finish up. At the 10-minute mark the doors open and an ear-piercing alarm is activated. "It will really upset you if you're there to sleep," says Dave Erickson, director of Calgary's Centre City Implementation office.

Investor installed two such units and sold last year, one of them to the city's rough end, to "improve amenities at the downtown area and help people from urinating and defecating in public," says Grant Wall of the city's engineering department.

Yardie tables, which are used to store thousands of items around the world, have been investigated. They've been known to attract vandals, drug use and prostitution. Seattle's experiment has been a disaster. In 2006, a local television station filmed drug dealers at work at one of the city's five automated toilets, and last year a woman complained after using a toilet seat sitting at a tiny sink washing herself. Erickson is confident, however, that the toilet's location, along with police patrols and regular monitoring from business owners, will reduce illicit activity. Then across the world to add even of them around Calgary, provided they aren't getting abused and people actually elated when the doors open. ■

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DANGERZONE

Pakistan's already volatile frontier region is showing signs of succumbing to a new wave of suspicion, power struggles and inter-tribal violence

STORY AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADHAN K. KHAN

By the time the Taliban reached Abu Ahmed's mountain-side home in Pakistan's volatile Swat Valley, he'd already prepared himself for a fight. In the prelude to a confrontation he'd prayed would never come, in a group of up to 30 well-armed Taliban militants reached up the hill through a jumble of mud homes in his village of Madyun, Ahmed had gathered together as many of his male friends

and family members as the could, armed them, and ordered them to wait inside his house.

This was in November 2007. After handily routing government forces out of Madyun, the Taliban was controlling their reach over the turbulent villages of Swat, in Pakistan's mountainous and war-torn North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), imposing their brand of Islamic sharia law with deadly precision.

Ahmed had arrived back in his home village

four months earlier—on Canada Day 2007—along with his wife and six children, for a vacation. He'd only planned to stay for a few months. A 4½ years ago he'd renounced his privileged position as the eldest son of a powerful local tribal elder and moved with his family to Canada.

That was a difficult decision, he says. "My father tried to keep me here. He offered me a business. He said he'd do anything to make

Pakistani troops intend to remain in the Swat Valley even after next week's election." Opening instead for a better life for his children, Ahmed left, settling in the Jane Street and Stokes Avenue area of Toronto. An agricultural engineer by training, he worked at manual jobs as his children adjusted to life in a new country and the family earned their Canadian citizenship. But back home, Swat fell victim to the instability that for years had been wrestling havoc in the Tribal Areas neighbouring the NWFP, as a militant preacher, Mullah Fazlullah, leader of the radical Islamic group Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Sharia Muhammada (TNM)—part of the Pakistan Taliban—began preaching his doctrine of intolerance on an illicit FM radio station at his base farther south in the Swat Valley. Violence surged.

Madyun was largely spared the carnage over the summer months. So when Ahmed returned home in July, he was hoping—perhaps a little naively—for a relaxing summer vacation in what at one time powerful forces considered Pakistan's idyllic tourist mecca, visiting family and friends before returning to Canada. "I know about the terrorism in other parts of the valley," he says, "and I'm sick to death for what any people were going through, but I really only thought about one thing: going back to Canada. I certainly didn't expect to meet the Taliban."

His entry into Pakistani politics changed his plans. Local members of the now defunct Pakistan People's Party (PPP) asked his father, also a member of the PPP, to represent them in upcoming elections, at that time scheduled for Jan. 8, and now to be held Feb. 18. After his father turned down the request because of his age, the responsibility fell on Ahmed, under tribal tradition. Ahmed agreed—and the Taliban soon came calling.

"I was very frightened," Ahmed recalls. "One of my mothers had been killed in these attacks. He said I was cruel and didn't pay him. That was all untrue, of course. I am not a cruel person. What I am is part of a powerful local family, a PPP member, and a foreign nationality holder." That's a volatile mix. If you happen to live in Taliban country Ahmed had his Canadian passport and credit cards—and armed his supporters.

In the end—luckily—nothing happened. The Taliban bargained on his door, and after listening to his side of the story let him leave alone. Perhaps that was in part because of Ahmed's armed contingent. Or, he says, "I guess they believed what I said. I don't know what they said in my mother's house, but I showed up a couple of days later and apologized." Still, the encounter could just as well have ended badly, in what Ahmed now describes as Pakistan's "madness." "It is a madness that is particularly

across the NWFP and the neighboring Tribal Areas—a region where both radicals and officials can get you killed. For would-be politicians campaigning here, trading their strength for better religion, tribal traditions and politics is a matter of life and death. It is a world where conflict exists in many different levels, where cultural, tribal, economic, the government, and sectarian clash, and where the traditional tribal culture of the predominantly Pashtun population of both regions shows signs of disintegrating into a fractured world of suspicion, power struggles, even inter-tribal violence.

The unrest in Swat that led to the arrest of Taliban militant Ahmad's home village, was only part of a larger cycle of tribal rivalry that has gripped Pakistan's wider region. After President Pervez Musharraf declared a month-long state of emergency last November, other parts of the NWFP, which borders not only the Tribal Areas but also Afghanistan, have shuddered under military and paramilitary hardenances in a new battle between militants and government forces. Extremists have taken over towns only to have them retaken by the army. The Tribal Areas, meanwhile, tumultuous even in their most docile months, have bristled with violence.

All this in the midst of an election campaign in what most outsiders would consider an impossible environment for holding a vote. Pakistan's polarized households in the NWFP and Tribal Areas have been caught up in a tough fight. But it's in these areas where Pakistan's future may lie decided: the ethnic Pashtun heartland, a place the Taliban—also Pakistanis—and al Qaeda call home, and a region that is a breeding ground for suicide bombers.

Since the Pakistani army's offensive in Swat began three months ago, life has regained some semblance of normalcy. "Commerce in Madyan is booming again, and if not for the army checkpoints, patrols mauling the women by day, and the air too distant sounds of artillery fire at night, you would not realize this is a war zone. But not in Ascent. As recently as Feb. 10, militants were captured in Kabul. 75 km south of Madyan, along with large weapons caches. According to a report in the Pakistani daily *Dawn*, two of the militants were thought to be involved in the roadside bombings. For those emboldened elections, the atmosphere is putting a dampen on their campaigning activities. "At night there is curfew, and in the morning it's too cold to do anything," says Ahmed. "We can really only go for three or four hours every day." That process time can be the most treacherous, more so if you represent a secular party like the PPP or its rival,

the Pakistan Muslim League (Q) (PML-Q), which supports President Musharraf.

Secularism is still a bad word in ultra-conservative Swat. But according to one Taliban source from the TNSM, it's not elections per se that they oppose. "Islam has a history of elections," he tells Mashraf from an undisclosed location in the Swat Valley. What he wants, and what has shaped up to be one of the dominant election issues in these often lawless areas of the country, is the imposition of sharia, or religious law. "Any government of Pakistan must bring the correct sharia, and ensure it is followed. If it does this, we will accept that government."

But what is the "correct" sharia law? The Taliban themselves, it appears, can't agree on an answer. At the height of their campaign in Madyan, when even the locally sworn-in tribal elders were fleeing, some Taliban even roamed the streets freely, kicking stones to clear during prayer times and burning down shaven men, one commander warned.

Ullah Mahad, one of the suspects in the Dec 27 assassination of Benazir Bhutto, is currently fighting not only the Pakistani military, but also local tribes.

Mahad, known to have close links with Mullah Muhammad Omar and the Taliban movement that ruled Afghanistan before the Western invasion of that country in the fall of 2001, is widely considered to be the leader of the Tribal Taliban, a coalition of militant groups operating in Pakistan. His version of sharia is the one adopted by his followers, people in Madyan say, is not what they're looking for. "We want sharia, but not that kind of sharia where they cut off people's heads," says Janabe, a 34-year-old produce seller in Madyan's main market. "If the Taliban follow sharia properly, then we will follow the Taliban."

The movement has its full share of allies on the ground: the NWFP and Tribal Areas. As a gateway station on the outskirts of Islamabad,

parts of Pakistan, is widely accepted in the only path to economic vitality in the NWFP. In fact, in a sign of a policy shift in the Pakistani establishment, authorities last month promised sharia courts for certain districts of the Swat Valley by the end of February.

Swat is an area of extreme poverty, underdevelopment, shortages and crime. Along with widespread anger over the war in Afghanistan and Iraq and the military campaigns in the Tribal Areas against fellow Pakistanis, their warriors are driving more people into the arms of the militants—and not necessarily radicals who are strictly aligned with the Taliban or al Qaeda. There are also regional movements spearheaded by what might be more accurately called local Islamic revolutionaries, among whom hardened religious perspectives and radicals have developed into internal conflicts that now threaten to tear apart communities.

Now, even its influence over each of them. In Egiziora near the border, yellow baidas patrol below their address on baidas that introduce them to "mujahideen," or "holy warriors." Their job is to keep the peace and enforce the group's religious code. Baidas are strongly recommended but not required. A baidas or some sort of head wear is a must.

In one of many compounds spread out over the territory, Lashkar leader Mungil Bugh, 40, tells Mashraf about the revolution sharia, its sharia, has brought to him. "Traditions, discipline, discipline, discipline are the things that propagate us to act," he says, surrounded by his followers and guards, many of them men in their 20s. "These things would happen and then the government would arrest innocent people." Heavy machine guns line the floor—equipment for Bugh's courage in his travels around the area to meet with donors and mediate disputes.

out of Pakistan's sworn tribal agencies, controlling the Khyber Pass, an ancient trading route between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Abdiriteer, the dominant one in Khyber and with close links to the government, is not only famous for its colonial houses just out of Peshawar, but also for its involvement in drug trafficking.

One prominent local businessman describes Bugh's economy as 70 per cent drugs. "The introduction made it open," he says with a chuckle. Despite Bugh's claims of stopping it, the drug industry is still flourishing, centered around the main market street owned by Bugh himself and destroyed by the government as punishment for his activities, locals say.

"You can't stop the drug industry in Khyber," says Bugh's Abdiriteer, an old graduate once doing business for one of the two national security units as far as Khyber. "Too many people depend on it for their livelihood."



SIAT ARMED with its children. Left, the PML-Q's national campaign office in Madyan.



LOCAL TRIBAL LEADERS attending a home in support of Ibrahim Kohakhal (below), a candidate who is attempting to give local-level power to the Khyber tribal leader, the leader of the Abdiriteer Lashkar-e-Islam, rest inside his compound.



lands that if they were caught without a license or deadline, they would have their heads cut off. A few days later, newspaper says, Mungil Bugh announced that this was incorrect, and announced the edict.

The difference in opinion, according to some locals in Madyan, may have been a regional basis. "Most of those Taliban were poor boys from mountain villages," says a resident. "They were being paid to fight. But there was one senior commander who wasn't from here. He had a Waziri accent, from Waziristan." That part of the Tribal Areas, at least 150 km south of Swat, has been the epicenter of the hard-core radical Islamic movement in Pakistan, where militant leader Fazl

iz Khan made of Madyan, supporters of Amir Mullah, a PML-Q candidate in the area, local pickup trucks with air guns pointed for his campaign. Despite the PML-Q's secular outlook, the posters promise sharia law for the Swat Valley. "We are all Muslims here," says Haj Mungil, information secretary for Swat District, Khyber, and a lifelong PML-Q supporter. "We would be happy if the government sent 'brought in sharia.' Mungil also says that in a completely in line with the party's platform. This is not Talibanism, he says, but Islamization.

An Islamist agenda framed in legitimate political discourse, while warring to the outside world and also to people in many other

One such conflict broke out two years ago between two opposing clerics in the Bura district of the Khyber Tribal Agency, just west of the NWFP capital of Peshawar and one of seven tribal agencies that make up the Tribal Areas. One was an orthodox cleric, and the other was a Sufi but from the Sufi, or mystical, tradition. Their feud over saints and the rule they play in a Muslim's life, seemingly sectarian dispute, threatened violent. Sources in Bura claim anywhere between 700 and 1,000 people have lost their lives so far, and the conflict has spawned its own militant group: Azad-e-Islam and Lashkar-e-Islam.

Lashkar, an offshoot of the orthodox fa-

A land issue is resolved after he was a few finger vigorously in the face of one of the men involved. More complex issues are discussed in shawps with his own advisers.

"People were afraid of this area," Bugh says in the dusk, police were a presence. "They are following the rule of their own free will." It is the trademark message of Pakistan, it's the government that's causing all the trouble, he adds. "When I stopped the drug dealers, the thieves and the kidnappers, when I brought peace to these areas, then the government attacked me," he says. "That proves they are behind all of these things, that they are making money from it." His statement is not what you'd expect. Khyber is by far the rich-

hoods. Five people. You need industry and opportunity. Development has to come here," Mungil Bugh, he adds, draws his strength from disbanding roads, especially yours, who have nothing better to do than walk around with guns and who feel, right, that the system has let them down.

A law graduate from Cardiff University in the U.K. and called to the bar in London last, as were some of Pakistan's most prominent leaders, including Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto's father, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, Afridi is not your typical tribal candidate. But unlike Bura Ahmed, his Canadian counterpart in Swat, he is a wholeheartedly entering the fray. "I'm

there was a lack of effective representation in parliament for the 'Tribal Areas,' Afghani says. "It felt as though an educated person who could talk about the rights of the people and encourage the development needs."

But while education may be an asset in parliament—Pakistan law requires all candidates for political office to hold a university degree—on the ground politics in Khyber requires an entirely different skill set. In Jamrud, northwest of Peshawar, Ibrahim Kohkheldi, 40, patriarch of the Kohkheldi clan, a subgroup of the Afghani tribe, gathers together his armed guards for another hour today of conspiring. His enemy of 30 years and political rivals lacks up and around: a husband and game market, past outside Kohkheldi's campaign headquarters, as it leads off onto the dirt tracks leading into the interior of the district.

Kohkheldi, an independent candidate representing his clan, has four million-dollar clients to meet today at their respective private-guard compounds designed specifically for encounters of this kind. Elders tell their people where to cut their throats; they are the key that Kohkheldi has been working on almost every day for the past two weeks.

It hasn't been easy. And while Khyber has needed much of the instability that has befallen it, the other six tribal agencies, encroaching violence has been a worry to them. After Khat, a small tribal town straddling the border across just north of Peshawar and known worldwide as the gun-manufacturing capital of Pakistan, militants took over the town, then ambushed a military convoy on Jan. 14. They made off with four trucks of supplies and ammunition destined for troops fighting extremists in South Waziristan.

The Pakistani military response was swift. For days, helicopters and artillery pummeled the area, driving local militants and locals out. "Everything was fine until the Taliban took over this," says one local, adding that his name not be published. "That's what's done good things. They stopped looting, selling, they stopped criminals, they started DVD shops. These things we like, normally—we are Muslims. But why did they start the revolution?" That's what's brought this trouble on us? Says another: "Most people don't support them here anymore. They

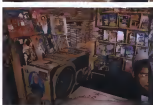
brought shame, and we were happy about that. But no one wants this trouble—that trouble that follows the Taliban."

On the campaign trail, Ibrahim Kohkheldi fears the same could happen in his constituency. "There is a concern that the instability will continue," he says. "But we are keeping the peace using the jirga system"—a gathering of tribal elders used to resolve disputes. Today, he has so far had a successful meet with one local leader, who promises him 100 to 500 votes from his clan. The next two campaign stops are such the same as the first: speeches with a prayer, the host then promises votes from his clan, tea and cookies are served, after which the campaigner leaves, questioning the compound leads off onto the dirt tracks leading into the interior of the district.

The last stops, the largest of the four and judged by

as under attack, they will look to their own for refuge, as the Pashtun tribes in Pakistan and Afghanistan have done for centuries. But as the speeches at Ibrahim Kohkheldi's last jirga indicate, the tribes themselves are becoming fractured and increasingly mistrustful of each other.

A gain that backdrop of violence and duopoly, a trip seems unusual to find a party that is fighting for the rights of Pakistan and has a secretist agenda. But that is the goal that the Awami National Party has set for itself in



A CAMPAIGN TOUR (top left), welcome to the Khyber Agency, where the signs say: "The Taliban are not welcome (top right)"

in the NWFP and the Tribal Areas." And, adds Zain Khan (an unnamed source), an ANP activist in Mardan, 30 km northwest of Peshawar, "The ANP in Peshawar, Baluchistan and Mohmand are both Pakistanis. We are not with these people through our own jirga system." Jirga, used by the Pakistani government over the past few years, some of which resulted in peace accords with various militant outfits that ultimately failed, were not real jirgas. Khan claims, because government and military involvement undermined them. If local leaders conduct their own jirga, without interference, they are sacred.

In the NWFP (political parties are not allowed in the Tribal Areas), the Jemiat Ulama-i-Islam-2, a religious movement, was the dominant party coming into the election campaign, but its strength has diminished. The current battle for provincial dominance is now between the PPP and the ANP—between

IN A PESHAWAR record shop, entertainment has been outlawed in front of services and war footage, leaders at a Peshawar (bottom)



the nationalist ideology of the Bhuttos and the regionalism of the ANP's founder, Bacha Khan. But is the ANP's message—that Pakistan can solve their own problems—misfire? If recent bloodshed inflicted on the party is any indication, the answer is a resounding no. The suicide attacks at party rallies over the past two weeks that killed at least 10 supporters, and the assassination of a senior leader in Karachi, have shown that Pakistan is not even ready to follow Pakistan ANP leaders say that militant unhappy with their recently scaled-back brand of politics, Pakistan central though they be, are trying to destroy their party. But they delicately insist they will not be involved in the election process, and remain confident that the vast majority

of Pakistanis support them.

The truth will come out at the polls. But at the moment, it's difficult to say who their numbers supporting. A recent poll carried out by Terror Free Tomorrow, a U.S.-based non-profit organization providing analysis on terrorism-related subjects, says overall support for the Taliban in Pakistan has plummeted. The Taliban themselves appear to be disappointed, with confidence in their senior commander has been captured in Baluchistan while rumors are circulating that Sirajuddin Mohammad may have been asked by Malalai Ojona, the Taliban's special leader.

But while there is evidence that some Pakistanis are relying on their ethnicity, the speeches of the elders in the Kohkheldi clan are indicative of growing doubt and mistrust. That division, worse than anything else, may be behind the apparent confusion within the Taliban ranks. What some observers in recent weeks are calling a weakening of the Taliban and of Qaddafi in Pakistan may appear to be a result of a breakdown in the tribal cohesion that at one time helped the country's networks operate. Increasingly, the internal struggle for influence in the Tribal Areas and the NWFP is putting clan against clan, isolating outsiders, sometimes forcibly. Much of the strife now spreading through Pakistan could accurately be described as a civil war within the tribal confederacy.

Bringing order to such a fundamentally fractured reality will be a tall order. Success as Pakistan government has failed, and today the politics of Pakistan's tribal regions present the biggest challenge this country faces. What the NWFP and Tribal Areas seem to lack most is a new generation of leaders with a fresh approach to tribal politics—like Salimullah Khan, who promotes giving the NWFP and Tribal Areas their own kind of tribal system, without blurring together of tribal and British practices that the local people could accept and run themselves.

And Riaz Khan, Ahmad in Swat. For the time being, however, or to get beyond this warzone. He will, however, try to find other ways for his people to resolve their differences. "In Pakistan, people want good politics," says Khan. "They may not even know what their future requires." They care more about what the party will do for them. But it's different in Pakistan. People do what their leader tells them to do. Changing that may be too much to ask of an unwilling participant in the country's brutal politics. But he says he's willing to give it a try.

"What I imagined when we took to the streets in Karachi," he adds with an embarrassed smile. "Perhaps he can bring some of the money back to his own last paradise in the Swat Valley."

THE END OF THE ALLIANCE

Will the Afghan mission destroy NATO—or totally transform it?

BY MICHAEL PETERSE • The only thing more challenging than defeat is the collapse of a military alliance. It's history: Greece city states that banded together to repel invasions from Persia fell upon each other after only a few decades of peace. Balkan nations that united to drive out the Ottomans early last century similarly turned against each other. Now NATO, arguably the most powerful military alliance ever, is entering a cross-into that two-decade after winning the Cold War.

NATO's mission in Afghanistan is, at best, John Mearns, chief of an independent panel on Canada's future role there, and Prime Minister Stephen Harper has argued, a test for the alliance. It may prove to be NATO's undoing. But the war in Afghanistan may shake up the military alliance, even as it transforms what was once a halfway against the Soviet bloc into something completely different—a global NATO, weakened from the geographic boundaries of the north Atlantic.

The alliance has already changed drastically, expanding after the Soviet collapse to include states that broke away from the Soviet bloc, and guaranteeing their security. Six campaigns in the 1990s in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, marked a further expansion. But it wasn't until after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the U.S. that NATO refocused itself as an organization willing to project force around the world. It responded to those attacks by invoking Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which states that an attack on one member state shall be considered an attack against all, as the U.S. and its NATO allies went into Afghanistan to defeat the Taliban, which had supported al-Qaeda.

But living up to this treaty obligation is proving difficult. "NATO chose to fight us

first major ground war in what has basically been a graveyard of empires," says Seth Jones, an analyst at the RAND Corporation think tank. The Taliban are seen as a potent source of threat that NATO has not shown the will and the ability to defeat. While a few states here—generally the U.S., Canada, Britain and the Netherlands—abandon a disproportionate burden of the fighting on the volatile south, most allies are hunkered down in the comparatively peaceful north, and have offered no solid commitment to help.

And warnings that this might result in the failure of the mission, for the first time since the end of the Cold War NATO's future as an effective alliance is now uncertain. And while few believe that NATO would actually disband, should it not exist, conflict in Afghanistan, many analysts think the resulting damage to its credibility would render it effectively impotent. Also, doing Afghanistan in the midst of its struggle undermines NATO's proud sobriety as a defender of democracy and liberty, notes Axel Hesse, a professor of international relations at the University of Toronto. "Any successful operation needs a larger legitimacy," he says. "If you fail on the moral and values level, it's very difficult to hold that organization together. If we allow Afghanistan to collapse, the damage to our moral credibility will be so bad that the alliance itself will have a lot of difficulty surviving."

The key to NATO's survival as a credible military force, however, may not depend on squeezing resources out of existing allies, but in looking for new ones. Proponents of a "global NATO" argue that enlisting NATO to the north Atlantic made sense during the Cold War, but now the division is diffuse. Today, conflicts from in Riyadh and Beirut to Kandahar launch deadly planes from long- to short-range into buildings in New York, Los Angeles and James Galloway, two prominent advocates of an expanded NATO, write in a 2006 essay. "Only a truly global alliance can address the global challenges of the day."

Doublet, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and Goldgeyer, senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations who previously worked for the U.S. State Department, believe that NATO membership should be extended to any democratic state that can fulfill the responsibilities. Top candidates would include Australia, Israel, Japan, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and South Korea. "NATO isn't about geography," he's about shared values," Goldgeyer says.

There are also practical factors to consider, he adds. NATO's outward expansion hasn't always strengthened the alliance militarily

"There's a limit to how much that enhances NATO as a military alliance," says Goldgeyer. "There are other countries in the world that are bigger, richer, and would be able to make a larger contribution. That's why NATO, if it's really serious about being a military alliance and not just a force of stability in eastern Europe, needs to look outside."

For now, the idea of NATO as a global alliance isn't maintained. But it does have some high-profile backers. José María Aznar, the former prime minister of Spain, has argued

and New Zealand and Cambodia, it just becomes even more unlikely. I have no problem with NATO working with other countries. But turning these into members and extending security guarantees is a recipe for NATO's demise."

Poland's Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski has similar concerns. "NATO should have as its core mission the defence of the territories of its members," he said. "These security guarantees have to be credible." This is a valid point. Two years ago, on a visit to Tbilisi, the

SHOULD NATO EXPAND? 'ONLY A TRULY GLOBAL ALLIANCE CAN ADDRESS THE GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF THE DAY.'



NATO MEETING IN 1957: Experts suggest allowing Japan, Australia and Israel to join

that membership should be offered to Japan, Australia and Israel. He said NATO's expansion should be to counter Islamist extremism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction—problems definitely not limited to the north Atlantic. Republican presidential candidate John McCain has also proposed a "League of Democracies" to "serve the core of an international order based on freedom."

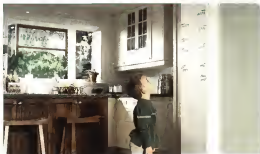
Those opposed to expanding NATO around the globe worry that doing so would overextend the alliance. "NATO is having enough trouble now," says Charles Kupchan, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a professor of international affairs at Georgetown University. "It seems to me if you throw in Japan and Australia

reformer spoke with George Mangaladze, Georgia's deputy minister of foreign affairs, who made the case for his country's membership in NATO. "The global mission," he said. "The center of East and West, I don't believe it's a matter of democracy."

Fair enough. But Georgia has two dramatic conflicts within its borders that could face up violently again, possibly with Russia intervening against Georgia. If Georgia were part of NATO, would the other members be willing to fight Russia on Georgia's behalf? Challenged with this scenario, Goldgeyer insists that a global NATO would actually make such a conflict less likely. "If Georgia were in the alliance," he says, "Russia would back off." ■

INDONESIA: OFF-COLOUR COMMUTERS

You would think that the death toll alone (33 in the last two years) would discourage commuters in Jakarta from riding on the roads of railway cars. But now, to further hinder the hell-commuters resort to the south Jakarta of overcrowding inside the commuter rail will have them with coloured eyes as they can be easily identified on the line. Police will then arrest them and, to punish them, send their names to families, employers and school principals.



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Firefighting hazard: local hooligans

BY JORDAN TIMM • The Fire Brigades Union of the United Kingdom released research this week documenting an astonishing trend. On more than 2,000 occasions last year, crews in the U.K. were attacked—mostly by groups of young people—while fighting fires, or were told by house calls to leave when they found themselves under attack. Though Britain has for decades grappled with violence among young people, these attacks ignore firefighters as we the riot, increasing by more than 15 per cent since 1995, with particularly high incidence rates around the time of the U.K.'s Bonfire Night holiday.

Firefighters reported being threatened and intimidated during the commissioning of their jobs, attacked with knives and pelted with bricks, bottles and even Molotov cocktails. Some reported walking out unscathed or triggering bloody traps when arriving at the scene of a blaze.

Pro-fighters unions in Canada say such incidents are all but unheard of here, but in Britain fire crews are having to get used to this new occupational hazard. One fire author says it's even rejecting an arrest with him in jail for DNA from those who are agitating and abusing them. The FBI report suggests that in some of the worst-affected regions—the likes of Greater Manchester and Merseyside, which have suffered a dramatic delinquent incidence over the past few decades—attacks are so frequent that crews don't even bother reporting most of them. As the union's general secretary Matt Whickard, "In some cases, attacking fire crews has become a recreational activity with very serious consequences."

Unions officials suggest that frustration, boredom, alcohol and drugs are to blame for the phenomenon, and according to Lee Barrow, a senior lecturer in sociology at Northumbria University in Newcastle upon Tyne, the fire crews have become a target because they're seen as a symbol of society's authority by disaffected, marginalised young people. "Whether Britain's becoming more violent as a by default," Barrow says "but there certainly seems to be a change in what's happening with youth."

ATTACKS are so frequent, crews don't bother reporting them.

WALLINGTON FEB. 25/08

A 'human zoo' for Burma's giraffe girls

BY LIANNE GEORGE • At the age of five, a girl born into the Kayan tribe of Burma is adorned with her first brass neck ring. A mark of beauty and identity. Every year thereafter, she is given a new, longer neck piece until the coils form a stack of roughly 15 rings, the weight of which pushes down her cheeks, creating the effect of a permanently elongated neck. It's a controversial tradition, and one that the UN refugee agency (UNHCR) says has turned the Kayan women into a tourist attraction for cheap happy Westerners.

Since the early '90s, 120 Kayan, along with thousands of other Burmese, have fled north to Thailand to escape their country's military regime. But when the women were placed in refugee camps and, in many cases, resettled in third-party countries, the Kayan were held separately and relocated to three remote villages in the Thai jungle, where the UNHCR says they are being held in a "human zoo."

One spokesperson for the agency is urging tourists to avoid the villages, where tourists pay an entrance fee of roughly \$100 to observe and photograph the so-called "giraffe women." According to the UNHCR, Finland and New Zealand accepted 20 of these women for resettlement two years ago, but Thai authorities have failed to process the paperwork. Observers suspect that the women are being denied passage because of the tourism dollars they draw in.

"We don't understand why these 20 are not allowed to start new lives," the UNHCR



WOMEN of the Kayan tribe earn tourism dollars for Thailand

spokesperson said. Local authorities and the requests have not been approved because the women don't live in refugee camps so, technically, they are not refugees. But they are not Thai citizens, either. At least one of the 20 Kayan in question, a 23-year-old named Zenith, has renounced her wish after protection. "I did like a prisoner," she said. ■

Who covers security for expatriates?

BY PATRICIA TREBLE • A group of French intellectuals and politicians gathered in Paris on Sunday to meet Ayaan Hirsi Ali. They were the former Dutch MP, facing death threats for her vocal criticism of Islam, to be given honorary French citizenship so she can receive publicly financed security. "I hope that the minister will be convinced," she said, "and that my security problem will be resolved, and for that to happen I have to leave the French nationality." Karim Yako, France's justice minister for human rights,



HIRSI ALI relies on donations to pay for her protection

replied that a message from President Nicolas Sarkozy, who promised to create a European fund for "the protection of people under threat."

Sumali-born Hirsi Ali, 38, has been under 24-hour protection since the 2004 murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh by a Muslim extremist over his film *Submission*, about the treatment of women under Islam. A note threatening Hirsi Ali's body, was found in Van Gogh's body. Not only had she helped write the documentary's script, but she was well known for her outspoken opinions on Muslim women's rights.

Two years later, Hirsi Ali accepted a fellowship in a conservative Washington think tank. That was after a political favor in the Netherlands over the immigration minister's unsuccessful attempt to strip Hirsi Ali of her citizenship for lying on her refugee claim, even though she had previously acknowledged the lie. (The minister's action was widely criticized as pandering to anti-immigrant sentiment.) For more than a year the Dutch government paid for around-the-clock protection in America at a cost estimated to be \$4 million, but last October, when Hirsi Ali was granted permanent U.S. residency, Holland announced it would no longer foot the bill if she continued to live abroad. Since then, donations have paid for her security.

Regardless of what the French government decides, the Dutch stance seems firm. On Monday, Justice Minister Wouter Bos told reporters: "We do not know what would happen if we automatically offer protection to Dutch citizens wherever they are."

DISSENTING POLICEMAN: 25

MONDAY'S A LOT MORE FUN SINCE SHE HAD HER HEART FIXED



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CANADIAN CONGENITAL HEART ALLIANCE



BIOVAIL'S BIGGEST TRIAL

After years of conflict, the fate of Eugene Melnyk's empire rests in the hands of a U.S. grand jury probe

BY JASON KIRBY • Eugene Melnyk's star turn came in 2006 when he sat down with the producers of *TV newsmagazine 60 Minutes* and spun an elaborate tale of intrigue and stock manipulation. The founder and former CEO of Ichoral described how powerful Wall Street hedge funds share secrets and analysis on the take were in cohorts to destroy Canada's largest publicly traded pharmaceutical company. "When you've got three companies, these people are the only thing keeping you down," he told the camera, "we're lucky we survived."

Part wounded man, part scrappy underdog, McIninch earned the role well. And coming on the heels of *Boyz n the City*'s massive US\$4.6 billion lawsuit against this shadowy cabal, his ascent on national TV was the most high-profile valley from an executive known for shoving down his critics. For two years later, the episode can be seen in a different light: as a last, desperate bid by McIninch to shape his legacy as *Boyz*'s before regulators, class action lawyers and the U.S. government did it for him.

Earlier this month, the U.S. Attorney's office in Boston subpoenaed the files, and potentially raises questions, chapters in the Biollay saga. The company said prosecutors have launched a grand jury investigation into payments it made to doctors who prescribed a new heart drug in 2005. Criminal charges are a very real possibility for Biollay's shell-thin investors, this time.

THE U.S. grand jury is probing allegations Bloomberg did nothing to investigate its own

latter is a long line of setbacks and disappointments. Over the last few years there have been class action lawsuits, investigations by market regulators in Canada and the U.S. and delays in getting new drugs approved. Biowall's share price, which Melnyk once went so high as to pledge to defend, has fallen to levels not seen in nearly a decade.

At this point no one knows exactly what evidence U.S. officials have gathered against Rivoli, or even what any existing charges might look like. (The company has said it will co-operate with the investigation.) Grand juries are creatures of mystery, a way for prosecutors to determine behind closed doors whether there's enough evidence to go to trial. But we do know a fair bit about the controversial program at the heart of the investigation, and it will suggest the bad news at Rivoli might get worse before it gets better.

For a long time, Bevois was a fingerin' the life generic drug company, cranking out cheap versions of other company's me-too drugs. But starting in 2002, Mylekris decided to transform the company into a serious pharmaceutical player with a portfolio of innovative medicines. Using patents controlled by reverse technology, which allows patients to pay no more than a pill over a whole day, as opposed to taking several doses, the company developed new versions of existing drugs and was poised to bring them to market. First up was a drug that analysts and investors were sure would be a home run: Cardura LA, a treatment for hypertension. Indeed, Mylekris had the new drug's sales underwritten and threatened to sue any generic manufacturer. For generic techies like you, a sure sign of a home run is integrative and oddly named little add-ons called Pro LA through Clinical Innovations, or PLACE.

Investors arrived about a year ago. In the summer of 2003, a few months after the program's launch, the *Wall Street Journal* and *Harvard's* reported that Biotech was paying millions of dollars to doctors to promote its new drug. Under the PLACS program, the firm paid as many as 17,000 doctors up to US\$1,000 each, provided they put 10 to 15 new patients on the heart drug. Doctors sometimes who chipped in to help would get another \$150 each.

The news set off alarm bells in the medical community. Dollars for prescription education are widely panned as ineffectual, not to mention the fact they hover at the fuzzy edge of the law. There are times when drug companies do outfit doctors to assist them with clinical research, and in return pay for their services. But the real goal must be a serious

quest for scientific knowledge. "The aim has to be to eventually publish the results," says Dr. Jerome Kassirer, a professor at Tufts University School of Medicine and former editor of the *New England Journal of Medicine*. "The rest is just machinery."

By the fall of 2003, the office of the inspector general at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services launched an investigation. It became the basis for this month's examination.

Private need back, the way it often did, by carrying any wrongdoing. The company insists PLACE was a legitimate clinical program, because physicians were asked to send percent data back to the company which would be used for research. And the two damning newspaper stories would later turn out to be *Newsday's* massive lie: as evidence that hedge funds were manipulating the market as part of a terror campaign. But the news made another troubling question for investors: was that a sign *Newsday's* flagship drug was in trouble?

The Civic Teachers' Pension Plan board thought so. In a class action lawsuit, the powerful pension manager alleged the PLAC program was little more than a charade. According to the suit, Escalante was having serious problems in transforming enough Cardinale LA Bar by encouraging doctors to fill out thousands of prescriptions, the company made it seem like the Cardinale LA launch was a success. When the gaping hole in revenues finally grew too deep to mask, the lawsuit alleged, Escalante blamed the shortfalls on a now-infamous truck crash. The company paid a colossal accident involving one of its trucks would delay revenues, even though some witnesses suggested the rig was largely empty at the time of the accident.

Last month, Borsari left the classroom and is agreed to pay investors US\$135-million while admitting no wrongdoing. Borsari declined to comment for this story, but the company's credibility remains shot to hell for investors. Last year, Melnick was forced to pay \$1-million to the Ontario Securities Commission over stock trading and disclosure violations. Meanwhile, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission is conducting its investigation into the company's accounting practices. Doubt by far the biggest concern for Borsari is the criminal investigation.

With the long arm of Uncle Sam now knocking on the door, Howell has two options—fight or go out the white flag. Faced with the same choice nine years back, General Black opted for all-out war, and next month he will likely be sitting in a Hardy's chair, still.

That leaves the white flag. In fact, American legal experts explain, the document prosecutors sent to Bin Laden informing him of the arrest was not a demand for extradition.

jury members are sometimes referred to as legal cards as a "common law" term. In other words, "Come and confess your sins, and we won't throw the book at you." Bissell now has one thing to make it any easier to prosecutors in hopes they really do do the case.

This might help explain why Melayk has taken it far more missionary approach to his local brand of law. When Black fought to sue him, Melayk quickly wanted the top job at Borel in 2004, making way for CEO Douglas Squares. And while Black sued against "corporate governance codes," Melayk, who took home all 22 million gipsy pounds in 2004, became a champion of good governance. In his position as chairman he did much to boost Borel's sense of annual poverty and kindness—like a connection.

hockey team in the nation's capital

To be sure—the crisis here, their defence says, The Hallinger matter involved pay rates directly to consider, whereas the financial matters dealt with take precedence. But the U.S. Attorney's Office in Boston is known for aggressively going after drug kickback schemes. Prosecutors there have charged up several high-profile doctors that involved fines or actions on the bars, and at some times hundreds of millions of dollars. For instance, in 2004 William Lamberth paid US\$4.5 million to settle charges it made illegal kickbacks to physicians, and last year a Swiss drug maker Stern paid US\$670 million to Ottomans former Swiss employees who acted as a whole blown stolen away with millions of dollars in reward money.

In the case of Lesons, prosecutors in Boston also charged four executives with bribing doctors. A jury acquitted all four last year. The shirt's nearly cold comfort after being dressed through the U.S. legal system.

Analysts and legal experts all agree Boreal will quickly try to settle before things go any further here than it has. Since becoming CEO, Squitria has learned to put Boreal's legal troubles in the past and get back to business. Analysts are hopeful that will happen soon. "Once you resolve these issues, the stock will go up because you don't have the overhang anymore," says Claude Carriere, an analyst with Paradigm Capital. "This has been going on for three or four years."

But even if there is a settlement, prosecutors will want their pound of flesh. In settlements involving civil lawsuits, defendants rarely agree to admit any wrongdoing. Not so in criminal investigations. And that could put students in Melchik's massive lawsuit against hedge funds and short sellers "in a bind if they enter into a settlement, then will have to face some admission of wrongdoing," prosecutors won't take anything less," says Peter Hartman, a professor of law at Wayne State University. "That would have a negative impact on their future."

Critics are already coming to show in Biondi's emergency loaned lawsuit. *Metaphors* described the matchbox dose by one analyst and defendant as "ostentatious and irresponsible." Yet last fall Biondi dropped in on emergency that analyst, David Maris, Secretary of Issue of America Securities, completely disavowing him from any further claims. At the time, Biondi argued that Maris's testimony would be "extremely helpful" in attempting to explain the bridge funds. But Maris backed, saying he had no way to operating with Biondi. Even if the company forced him to testify, he said, he was "aware of any conspiracy against Biondi and do not believe any such conspiracy ever existed." ■



PROSECUTORS SENT BIOVAIL A 'COME TO JESUS' LETTER, WHICH MIGHT EXPLAIN MELNYK'S MORE CONCILIATORY APPROACH OF LATE

and appointing independent directors, for example. (He gave up that job last June as part of his settlement with the OSC.) Nor will Malloy ever lose any sleep over the colour of his passport—despite being in Barbados. Malloy is still a Canadian citizen, and, so good weather, just happens to own a passport.

Google and the new corporate warfare



STEVE MAUCH

a set of general conventions that make corporate confrontations appear more like firing matches than knife fights. When Verizon, for example, tried to derail the merger of Comcast and AT&T a few years ago, its reply plate to the U.S. Federal Communications Commission ran to 38 pages, and was a good-sized run for its money. "Dear Sir...out, out...competitive market...blah blah blah."

But the unfolding public squall between the giants of the Internet economy it seems the rules have changed. Or rather, the rules have gone out the window, except for good

Last week, within hours of Microsoft's \$2.4-billion takeover offer for Yahoo, Google CEO Eric Schmidt was on the phone with Yahoo's Jerry Yang urging him to resist the hostile bid, and chief legal officer David Drummond issued a public appeal to save the Internet. The takeover raises "troubling questions," he said. "Could Microsoft now attempt to exert the same kind of expansive and illegal influence over the Internet that it did with the PC?" (See story page 14)

Sure enough, Yahoo rejected the bid Monday, saying \$2.4 is "substantially undervalued," the company's primary risk considering its shares had doubled in 18 months since its IPO. Still, the takeover is a real challenge to Google. If Microsoft's move to take over Yahoo, and mount a credible challenge to the Web's rainbow empire, it'll have to tough up its business—making it that much tougher to deal with you'll

This is what happens when two titans meet at a crossroads. Over the next to years these companies and a handful of others will fundamentally reshape the landscape of the digital economy. And as they've already shown, the settling grudge behind Google will do what it's necessary to come out on top.

Google fired the first salvo back in early 2003, complaining that Microsoft's Internet Explorer software unfairly directed users toward its own search engine and websites, rather than rivals like Google and Yahoo. (The U.S. Department of Justice sided with that complaint, a 10-year case. And when

Google announced a \$2.4-billion deal to buy Web advertising company DoubleClick, and Microsoft immediately wrote on the offensive. General counsel Bradford Smith warned that the combined company would be able to "observe and capture consumer information on an unprecedented scale"—a name-to-subtle hint that Google, with its massive harvesting data centers, is constantly tracking what we read, download and buy on the Web. (Just say no!) Now we have Google accusing Microsoft of being a free threat to "the underlying principles of the Internet: openness and innovation."



Don't worry, we're just a couple of harmless geeks

There are many holes in the reasoning on both sides, of course. Wartime propaganda is about emotion, not facts. But Google's rhetoric breaks new ground in the rules of corporate combat: it is designed to appeal to the knee-jerk anti-corporation of the Internet generation. Since its inception, Google has used plans to position itself as the world's first anti-establishment mega-corporation. From its rainbow logo and its core motto ("Don't be evil") to the constant pressure to openness and sharing, Schmidt and founder Sergey Brin and Larry Page present their company as a place where profit, creativity and social conscience go hand in hand.

But the motto of friendly wandering is an increasingly awkward fit for Google. Last

year, when a group of shareholders led by the New York City pension fund introduced a motion that would have required Google to actively resist efforts to censor Web content, management crushed it. The company, poised, is actively engaged with government censorship efforts in China. Still or not, Google isn't going to turn its back on the exploding Chinese market over a few ethical quandaries.

The only thing exceptional about Google seems to be its secrecy on issues such as how it uses the vast quantities of personal information it collects from users, even scanning e-mails to look for keywords to better target advertising. In December, One World Travel notified Google that among dozens of major organizations in terms of transparency (not from being on the inside), Google is now the acknowledged overlord of the Web. As of December, it was used for 6.4 percent of the world's Internet searches, compared to just over 15 percent combined for Yahoo and Microsoft.

In online advertising and service revenue, Google hauled in \$1.6 billion in 2002, while Yahoo collected \$287 billion. Microsoft's sales were \$12.8 billion and it has yet to make a profit in its online business.

Nevertheless, Google insists that Microsoft represents a threat to the precious spirit of the Web.

Don't worry, we're just a couple of harmless geeks

What they're saying, in effect, is that since Microsoft has a long history of making opponents and meeting about regulation, Google should be exempt from having to compete with such a brute. The Internet should be a happy place, where only nice companies go to play. Presumably much smaller companies that pose a real threat to Google's expanding power.

The outcome of this fight will go a long way to shaping the future of the digital economy. And, unlike the past corporate confrontations, which all happened behind closed doors, this one is in plain view and public opinion will help determine the outcome. There are dozens of ways this power play could work out, but the central question is about Google: Is it a cuddly creature that just wants us all to be happy and enlightened? Or is it, as Microsoft contends, a shrewd and aggressive monopoly in the making like... well... like Microsoft was 30 years ago? ■

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Who knew?

In **70%** of cases genital herpes is transmitted when there are no visible signs or symptoms.*

I'm very careful, and I always thought I was doing everything possible to protect my partner from genital herpes. But when I learned that I could be contagious even when I don't have symptoms, I was shocked.

I asked my doctor, and she explained that genital herpes is transmitted through something called viral shedding. Too small to be seen, viral shedding can happen anytime, anywhere from just below my waistline down to my upper thigh. Thanks to my doctor I now know that I can do more to reduce my risk of passing it on.

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* Based on observational data that the risk of spreading genital herpes (GPH) is 14% between an infected and uninfected partner (GM and F&M) who had sex 234 days and were uninfected in studies from 1991 to 1994. These studies were conducted in the United States. Studies were conducted on the general population, where there were no visible signs or symptoms.

The typo heard 'round the world

BY STEVE HATCH • When Buffett is one of the most powerful businessmen who makes news every time he opens his mouth in public. As the world's second-richest man, millions of adjectives hang on his every word about the economy, the markets and even politics. When Buffett enters a room for breakfast, somebody somewhere lays a bet on his future. The trouble is, sometimes he makes news through no fault of his own.

Last week, Buffett was in Toronto addressing a luncheon crowd on topics ranging from the subprime loan fiasco to corporate governance and philanthropy. The trouble began when the Oracle of Omaha turned his attention to U.S. fiscal policy and the embedded greenhouse. In response to a question from the crowd, Buffett said "I'm currently around deficit hawks running at present levels, the dollar, I think, is about certain to be worth less five to 10 years from now compared to other major currencies." Simple enough.

But that meeting, Dow Jones NewsWire issued a story saying Buffett had predicted the U.S. dollar would be "worthless" in five years, instead of "worth less," and the story was instantly broadcast around the world to thousands of newspapers and countless websites. The headline quote immediately became a topic of conversation among business executives around the world. Finally, it made Buffett sound a little dinky.

When Buffett came back to the understanding the following morning, he called the CNBC business news network and set the record straight on live television. As anchor Stacy Quick held the phone to her ear, she told viewers: "I have Warren Buffett on the phone."



BUFFETT: I said 'worthless' not 'worthless'.

Before he had a conviction on something we're been running... We've been saying the dollar will be worthless, he said the dollar will be "worth less."

Dow Jones issued a correction within a couple of hours, but two days later, the "worthless" quote went viral, poisoning dozens of news sites. It's not only being the world's most quotable billionaire.

The last word on Canada's hollowing out



RIO TINOCO's takeover of Alcan was a sign of a healthy economy

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • A study by the Conference Board of Canada last week found that there is no clear evidence that Canada is being hollowed out by foreign investors. Canadian firms are actually more active in buying assets than their foreign counterparts, the report found. In fact, the study revealed that Canada needs to attract more foreign direct investment, not less. It's the second significant study in the past year essentially dismantling fears that Canada is being gnawed by foreign interests.

Looking at data between 1994 and 2007, the report found that the number of big mergers and acquisitions (worth more than \$1 billion) flowing into and out of Canada were virtually identical. And in each world more than 10 billion, Canadian companies actually bought more foreign assets than vice versa. A study by RBC's last spring arrived at a similar conclusion looking at data over the past two years. It found that there were 796 deals in which Canadians acquired assets from foreign ones, compared to 816 in which Canadian firms were bought out.

The flurry of acquisitions over the past two years, marked by high-profile deals like Rio Tinoco's purchase of Alcan, may prove to have been little more than a big blip followed by low interest rates and record corporate profits. As easy credit becomes more scarce, expect to see fewer mergers and acquisitions. "With the fallout of subprime and higher risk assessment, we expect, and have seen, a significant slowdown already," says Louis Theriault, the author of the Conference Board report.

Given the positive impact that foreign investment has on everything from shareholder value to job creation, that's bad news. "Canada is diverging," says Theriault. There may be no better time than now to put to rest once and for all the hollowing-out debate, and hope for more cross-border action.

Investment scam artists love the Web

BY KATE LEMAS • There's a moral argument in any successful scam. Of the millions of Canadians who've fallen prey to investment fraud, roughly half were introduced to the fraud by someone they knew. And so, in social networking sites like Facebook.com, where more than half of all Canadians now have an online profile—observers say we're more open to potential fraudsters than ever. "Since it's easier to have contact [online], people may develop trust more quickly than they would in the offline world," says Ron Teeter, executive director of the U.S.-based National Cyber Security Alliance. "The more connected people are, the better chance fraudsters have of reaching you."

Thanks to the Internet, the modern day con artist can operate in relative anonymity, and from the comfort of home. "Social networking websites create an environment ripe for identity fraud,"

the R.C. Securities Commission recently warned. Scam artists could use sites like Craigslist to "solicit people to accept that they may promise investment or other benefits in return for some action."

Scam artists could use sites like Craigslist to "solicit people to accept that they may promise investment or other benefits in return for some action."

Long. According to the RCMP, roughly 75 per cent of those who use social networking services are aware of potential dangers. About 70 per cent of those who use social networking services are aware of potential dangers.

While the Internet offers fraudsters a new platform from which to do their dirty work, the scam is essentially the same. Whether it's 1948 or 1998, notes RCMP Sgt. Richard Ferguson, these range from pyramid and Ponzi schemes to "pump-and-dump" schemes in which scammers hype a stock and then dump it as an inflated price.

Nearly the RCMP put the RCMP will warn next on whether they're investigating a case of identity fraud over social networking sites, but both men people should use their "common sense" when they claim about investment products online. "We know these sites will be a tool [for fraudsters]," Ferguson says, because like a wall in the city's hallway, "they can access a huge flock of sheep."

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TIME TO STOP THE CLOCK?

A backlash against the billable hour has some firms charging flat fees

BY JONAS ENVERI • When news broke last fall that a few New York City lawyers had reached the \$800,000-an-hour mark (that's \$18.6¢ a minute), a partner at another firm in the city warned that the profession may have hit the "rotten point" with clients.

He was right: although the skyrocketing rates lawyers charge have been something of a joke for decades, several large U.S. corporations are no longer laughing. Some clients, it seems, are less willing to accept "open-ended, indefinite and unknowable liabilities when they walk into litigation," says Louis Sosin, a law professor at the University of Toronto. Now, to curb on-the-fly inflation, a handful of boutique firms are beginning to offer alternatives to the billable hour: the hourly standard is on the "bleak."

Charging by the hour—or in its intricate kinder-sisterly variant to impose transparency. The problem, says Hugh Totten, a member with Valorem (later for "value"), a San Diego law firm that offers clients contingency fees payable only if the result is favorable) and fixed fees, is that the billable hour "creates an incentive for needless litigation and/or a complete lack of efficiency."

This critical reform isn't new. In a 2002 report, the American Bar Association's commission on billable hours identified hourly rates for driving young lawyers from the profession (an estimated 45 percent of lawyers quit law by their third year), and for losing little time for job-hunters. The commission listed five alternative models: While many private law firms remain open to forward clients' needs, lawyers still work on the clock (1st per cent of legal work in Canada is based on billable hours). When asked how quickly firms are shifting from the model, Richard Adcock, founding partner of Vancouver-based legal strategy Catalyst Consulting Group, "Global warming is faster."

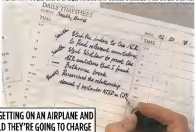
With little incentive for larger firms to change, the highly lucrative business model, experts say the push will need to come from clients. Some companies in the U.S. are answering the call. Cisco and PricewaterhouseCoopers are two on a short list of corporate giants demanding alternatives, including flat fees. Some costs

panies are refusing to let high-priced junior suits do work that paralegals can do just as well and cheaper. And in November, Wal-Mart threatened a return to external counsel calling for a discount on the rate increases of associates—the average entry-level lawyer at a big city firm in the U.S. is making \$150,000 (in Canada it's closer to \$100,000).

Experts anticipate that the current economic downturn will lead to further budget-cutting and could force more companies to reassess deals with their lawyers. "The days

pricing, but few often untold advantages for a fixed-price client can call the office as often as needed without worrying about a big surprise at month's end. "It's almost as if we're cheating lawyers for them," he says. Valorem is also using its small size to its advantage. Instead of having the traditional pyramid model (a stable of junior lawyers working under—and making money for—partners), lawyers at Valorem work together on cases. There isn't a "bloated assistant level," says Totten. Outsourcing is used to cut costs.

MORE THAN 90 per cent of all legal work done in Canada is tracked in six-minute intervals



"IMAGINE GETTING ON AN AIRPLANE AND BEING TOLD THEY'RE GOING TO CHARGE YOU BY THE MINUTE. IT'S CRAZY."

And another billable includes a value-adjustment law, allowing clients to have the final say on price. "We're not going to argue," says Totten. A crisis down, he says, serves as an early warning sign "that we're not serving the client well and need to focus on that immediately." Law, says Totten, "is supposed to be an economic profession of people giving advice to clients. That's what we're trying to get back to."

Shepherd, who practices the billable hour will last neither decade—nor even crack his staff's hours for internal projects. His firm prepared many competitors to ask how he knows if associates are doing their work. "I manage them," he says. "That's my job."

WHO'S SUING WHOM

CYCLIST LEAVES BAD IMPRESSION WITH MOTORIST

Toronto's Daily Star has published a lawsuit against the family of a 10-year-old cyclist who fatally collided with his Audi A8 in 2004. In that crash, the 10-year-old boy's body slammed into the luxury car, causing 120,000 dollars in damage. In addition, the family was awarded \$3,000 to defray the cost of his funeral. The lawsuit was filed in court after the family reported it to a public outcry.

And late nights at weekends held up at the office don't impress him. "The firm," he says, "doesn't get anything done if it's late longer and the client wants the work done as fast as possible."

It is, of course, much easier to change the culture of a boutique firm with half a dozen lawyers. At a large Canadian firm that bills 190,000 hours a year, says Stock, "the business model is entirely based on the hundreds of thousands of people in the corporation. It's not an especially malleable ship."

One of the fastest driving this movement, say experts, is a young cohort less interested in working themselves into partners' graces. Currently, billable hour targets for young lawyers at a big Bay Street firm are about 1,800 a year. At entry-level U.S. firms, that number has crept down to the 1,600 mark. And yet, surveys show that most first-year lawyers still sacrifice leaving lasting scars for a better work-life balance.

Some are even taking action. Last year, students at Stanford started Law Students Building a Better Legal Profession, which lobbies private law firms to relax their work-life policies (the group now has chapters at several U.S. schools, including Yale). A few smaller U.S. firms—an effort to stop the brain drain—have ditched billable hour quotas in recent months. Alice Woolley, a law professor at the University of Calgary, doesn't expect a similar student movement in Canada. No such here, she says, has the market power to pull off a Stanford-like move. "If you're an associate, you know that the law firms would quite happily have from Western or Windsor or Quebec," she says.

In defense of the billable hour, Woolley says, "It's very clear, you know what you're getting." And there's no pressure required to determine how much future work a completed case will need. There is also no guarantee a different model will improve things. "It's not difficult to abuse people with any billing method," she argues. A flat fee, say, often, may not motivate a lawyer to work hard. Value billing, depending how it's calculated, can lack transparency and accountability. And rounding up fees can cause lawyers to only accept cases they can handle—and seek it on—quickly. "The really complex important cases will get shunted off," says U of T's Sosin. "Or you'll have moral finding components caused to take it on."

The billing method, however, is far less a concern for Woolley than in the need for better internal controls. "I'm less interested in firms moving away from hourly billing as I am in their measuring what is a realistic amount for a person to bill," she says. "And for being vigilant in ensuring that lawyers are not acting in a way that is abusive." ■



FOR EVERY PLANTABLE BOTTLE SOLD, ONE COFFEEWAS SAVING IS PLANTED IN SARDARY, ON.

CAB FOR A CAUSE

A new wine label helps Canadians to offset their carbon footprints

Planting trees isn't the only environmental aspect of the wine. Although Campbell has initially wanted to use organic grapes, he settled largely from a firm in California's central valley that uses sustainable agricultural practices, because the export land here isn't plentiful and can be non-organic. Over harvested, the wine is shipped in bulk to Niagara via a plane tank truck that holds roughly 2,500 cases worth of wine, about twice the amount that can be transported via a standard transport truck. With double the amount of wine being shipped per truck, the quantity of gas needed to move the wine is significantly reduced.

The wine is then bottled in Niagara, by Niagara Vineyard, in polyethylene terephthalate (PET) plastic bottles. The plastic bottles are available and significantly lighter than glass, reducing the overall transportation cost even more when they are transported to stores. PET bottles are also easier to recycle and can be used as raw material in a range of products at a recycling plant for polyester. Overhauling complete, the wine is packaged in certain made of recycled paper.



WINE EXPERTS CALL IT EASY, UNPRETENTIOUS—AND NOT FOR YOUR CELLAR

And what the world has seen wine experts? "They are unpretentious, easy drinking wines that can go with just about any meal," says Zoltan Szabo. Tony Anglin, a wine writer who recently co-edited *The Definitive Canadian Wine & Cheese Cookbook* with Garth Prentice, gives each of the wines 90 points out of 100. "It's the 50-point rule with these wines. You buy 'em, take them home and open them," he says. "These are not far-fetched wines." They were perfectly in line with Lillard's desire to help the environment, too, instead of adding to somebody's house as one friendly expert says tomorrow. ■

The result of that advocacy is now on sale at boutique stores across Ontario, with plans to sell a nationwide—in the form of a Merlot, Cabernet Sauvignon and Chardonnay, each priced at \$14.95 a bottle. For every bottle of wine sold, Lillard's gives \$10 to The Canada to plant one coniferous sapling in Sarnia, Ont. The goal by the end of the first year is to plant 100,000 trees, with each case estimated to absorb 600 lb. of carbon over the course of its lifespan. Lillard estimates it will offset 2007 carbon emissions within 30 years by planting 1,000 times its own carbon footprint—on an annual carbon footprint of 200,000 lb. of greenhouse gases per person, according to Earthscan Canada by purchasing one bottle of Plantare wine every 21 days. Campbell's long-term goal is to plant one million trees.



Every parent's nightmare

A famous Canadian singer-songwriter's family was almost destroyed when his son started bringing home dangerous new friends BY DAN HILL

Over the last year and a half, three young adults who have set foot in my house, as the well-to-do, two-lane beach neighborhood of Toronto, have been murdered. All black, all by gunshot, all in Toronto. All three of these men had been in contact with my son, David, now 19. The first two murder victims I'd consider at least that friendly but more than acquaintances. But the third and most recent, Eric Boateng, I'd known quite well, because he had once been a close friend of David's. That friendship had eventually turned bad. Don't sound too good. The way that he died Oct. 12, 2007, shortly after leaving the Denzil, where he'd been visiting an ex-girlfriend.

My son, in his dramatic and perilous journey to come to grips with his mixed-race identity, had opened up to me a world that had previously been closed. A world where violent deaths for young black males in Toronto have been, for quite a while now, a statistic of course. This story is an attempt to open up a tiny window on that world for people like me, who have lived a relatively blessed and sheltered life. The product of a middle-class, moved-out upbringing in Toronto's equally clean suburban Don Mills and the son of a celebrated black human rights leader and whose mother committed to social change, I was desperate, as a teenager, to forge my own identity. In my case this meant dropping out of school, adopting an aphorism, what's all this race stuff get to do with me anyway attitude (saying in piss off my parents), and then, somehow, achieving sufficient fame and wealth as a singer-songwriter before having my mid-20s crisis.

It was precisely that success that, to some degree, alienated my son—partly because, through most of the first seven years of his life, I was working for longer than most of mine out of the country. The considerable parental wealth that resulted made my family vulnerable to the predations of some of the less-than-ethical kids my son chose to befriend. And brought me face-to-face with all manner of political and racial realities, the kind of things my father had always struggled to address, the kind of things I'd tried my best to ignore.

The last time I saw Eric was on a afternoon three years before he was murdered. I'd just barely managed to coax him out of my house, an accomplished skill to winning a split decision in an action my boxing competition—except that the contest had just begun. Now, we were face to face on nearby Queen Street, staring each other down.

"David, get home," I shouted at my son, who at 16 was two years younger than Eric. Eric was glowering, not so much at me as through me. His hooded brown eyes seemed more detached than threatening, as if he really didn't give a f--- about anything—his life, my life, anybody's life. I knew I had to stop staring at the car on his right forearm (he'd hooked his wrist while frantically wrestling all-matched opponents' fists).

"David, I told you to get home."

If Eric was going to beat me up, I didn't want David to be there, watching. No son should witness his father getting beaten in a street fight. But I could tell by the nervous smile fixed on David's face that he wasn't going anywhere. He wasn't about to run the matchup for the world.

I'd never, in my 30 years, been in a fight. I'd never spent the better part of his life fighting. He was damned good at it. Over the last year, his technical-minded up. Maybe it was Eric's turn to arrive back now at his father, who had brought him to Canada 10 years before at the distant memory of his mother, who had refused to leave their native Ghana, at this cold and sterile country. Or maybe my stories were complete crap. I once believed that Eric could be saved, look where that had landed me now.

"Eric, it's time for you to go home. You know you're not welcome here."

I'd wanted my voice to sound resolute. But what escape if my mouth sounded more like a plea than an order?

"David's coming home with me," said Eric. "To finish up our trade. He owes me."

I knew that "trade" was code for "cotton." Missing that Eric expected David to return with him home to hand over a wad of money or several hundred dollars' worth of his last hip-hop windrobe in order to avoid being knocked unconscious. Eric had pulled this kind of "give me your stuff or I'll knock you out" street-craze offside. He'd perfected his "lighten up" method, during behind his victim and then quickly wrapping his powerful forearm around his victim's neck, cutting off the oxygen supply and causing the victim to lose consciousness. Of course, no one dared call the cops on Eric. Stranding was better than taking a trip off the CN Tower.

"David isn't going anywhere. He's grounded."

"I'm not leaving till me and David settle things."

"Whenever you're settled can be settled with me."

"You can't buy me. I don't need your f---in' money. I got plenty of my own."

Yeah, right. Three guesses where you got that money, I should say. But neither place at Eric's car caused me to reconsider.

HILL AND HIS SON, DAVID, NOW 19, THREE OF DAVID'S FRIENDS ARE NOW DEAD

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIA ZILBER

as odd, he is older brothers with jobs, or fathers to attend their football games, or a group of friends at a local music venue, appeared to be a welcoming spirit.

"That was an awfully long time for you to be away?" Murley, David's closest and most loyal friend, could be counted on to say, in a soothing tone, whenever I returned from an out-of-town songwriting assignment.

After our Queen Street standoff in 2004, Eric was soon back in detention, convicted of dealing cocaine. But with Eric out of the picture, I was forced to come to terms with something I'd been painfully slow to figure out, perhaps because I didn't want to face it: there were a lot more lines out there, that really, Eric was a symptom of a far greater, possi-

They disappeared from the threats had come from a stolen cellphone and, on their recent murder, we started to record all the conversations that took place on Bev's line. The death threats slowed down, replaced by late 911 calls that saw ambulances speeding up to our house in the middle of the night, followed by phone messages protesting that next time, the threat of us would be carried out on an ambulance.

"The three of you should move to another province," said our verbally abusive family doctor. That that same doctor had recently emigrated here from South Africa, due to the violence he and his family had been exposed

scratched his face, badly, with my long, guitar-playing forearms. That's when Bev said I decided that, for everybody's safety, David would move, and we'd stay put.

In September 2005, we shipped him off to stay with close friends of ours in Windsor, Ont., where he'd attended school for the year. The last memory of David to the U.S. to escape harm in Canada was by a means lost on us. The following year, we sent him to a strict boarding school in St. Catharines, Ont. Those turned out to be years of relative calm. The death threats, the screaming ambulances, the same three-way phone hostage from jail stopped completely.

We got death threats. 'We'll make you and your dad watch while we slit Bev's throat.'

really life-threatening problem of David's. Even though he was only bringing in a "good" 10th back home, he hadn't lost his punk-diehard son with the out-and-out thugs, whose lack of our was criminal to the extreme. They never hurt David, but they stole from him constantly, something he took to be the price of admission. Hanging with this crew was like being egged while you try to get in, dance hard to get out. And the price kept getting higher. David started receiving collect calls from inmates at the Don Jail and related juvenile detention cells. (By calling David, and then pressing him to connect the call to a third party—my girlfriend—both the inmate and his girlfriend escaped payment.) One time I overheard a loud screaming David when I picked up the connection.

"Shit, my dad's on the line!" "What's your dad gonna do? Call the cops on me?" When Bev overheard the three-way between the three of us, he was angry. "David, we're gonna make you and your dad watch while we slit Bev's throat."

Bad enough that they knew my wife's first name. But the vicious cycle that followed the threat, descending into a major disease of group laughter—how many kids were on this threat?—transformed me, briefly, into the kind of knee-jerk reactionary I'd always loathed. Time to buy a gun and move into one of those gated upper-class communities. So many of my U.S. songwriting partners ended in, after many years I'd always been so quick in my Canadian laughter, to judge Bev, wisely ignoring my Charlton Heston temperament, called the police.



SON AKA: On Oct. 22, 2007, Eric Bowring was shot to death in front of the jail. He had been visiting an inmate.

to in his homeland, gave his suggestion all the more weight and immediacy.

More troubling of all was that, regardless of the never-ending consequences imposed by Bev and his gangbangers, with no allowance, no compensation, no friends over, and worse of all, two hours a week with some absolutely befuddled and over-changing shrink, despite the growing work of our own doctors checking all manner of life out of our household, David's pattern of conduct remained the same. A week or two of laying low and playing contrite would be followed by an explosive outbreak of shockingly self-destructive behavior. It culminated in my (and perhaps David's) first ever knock-down, drag-out out. We broke the bed, a lamp, and Bev's heart: her "both of you, get out of this house!" were the exact words that persuaded me to release David from my handiwork, whereupon I escorted him out of my bedroom and locked the door. Only later did I realize I'd

In June 2007, David was out of school and back living with us. At 16, he'd grown out of his wannabe thug phase, and had in go this long-held ambition of becoming a rap singer. Now, inspired in part by his uncle Lawrence Hall's success as an actor, David had hopes of someday being a writer. He'd always been gifted with words, particularly the written word. The recent murder of two black males, both part of David's sprawling network of friends (another half dozen kids in David's circle were in jail), had left him badly shaken. And most importantly, he'd developed some empathy, not to mention a realization that he was but one blunder away from being shipped off (quite possibly to jail) if he reverted back to his earlier behavior.

His core of "good" August friends felt back into his life, restoring from gangly, uncertain 14-year-olds to self-assured, confident young men, employed or in school.

And despite David's anger at me for writing outside of Canada for so many years, at Eric and me for shipping him away to school for two years ("It was your decision to leave me! Mom, you chose to f--- Dad. Well! Now you can't just get rid of me!" he would rail, although Bev was never known to argue) and I was Gene Simmons on Viagra, the three of us gradually grew closer. Finally Eric, still rocky at times, was increasingly improving.

Then Eric was released from jail. David started receiving messages from him, on Facebook and MSN. According to Eric, they had some old business to settle. Major updates. Only now Eric, after surviving years in the penal system, was more dangerous than ever. Possibly lethal. He'd been rounded up as a suspect in the 2005 Bowring Day murder of

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MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL.

high school student Jesse Crohn on "Young Street" and, although charges against him had been dropped due to insufficient evidence, the reaction of his name alone brought back the wailing of our family therapist: "Move out of Toronto. The sooner the better!"

Then Eric appeared on our lawn at 3 a.m. one morning morning, taunting David, who was standing on the front porch with a couple of his friends. "What would your parents do if they saw me in your house?" When Roy reported him, Eric dashed down the street and had under a parked car. Fortunately, there were two easy kids around for Eric to pull together. If he was going to inflict damage, he was likely to do so on someone David's friends were talking about.

I didn't want to tell David that I was frightened. Over the years I'd used cyberstalking with kids who'd spent years in and out of jail, but my wife was coming home, and I told them to get out of my property unless they'd find a way to help. I'm not tough, but I'm not a coward. My strategy worked with them and they backed off. But it wouldn't work with Eric. Unlike any other kid, Eric had posted the fear in my eyes during our Queen Street standoff. And he'd "incense hell" in a sleeping on the street in the dead of winter," he'd said. David told David—was an unhelpful document. Not that we could go to the police. What were we going to say? Eric had saved his name and, besides, the old line look situation had changed: calling the cops could very possibly result in a death sentence for David.

A month passed since Eric was spotted outside our house. Then another month. I relied a little and went on our own. Ontario with Stuart McClean's Vinyl Café show. I tried to convince myself that Eric had decided to back off. Maybe he considered David, despite his obvious material advantages, not quite as valuable as other kids whose parents were rarely around to see a difference.

"I saw Eric at the barbershop today," David said one afternoon, as always, to get attention. I was in a house for a couple of days before assuming the Vinyl Café tour.

"What the hell were you doing at the barbershop as a guest?"

"It was everyone goes. Eric shows up every Friday. People there have told him to stop coming by. That he's passed too many people off."

"Have you learned something from these last two years?" I snapped. "Every time I pick up a newspaper, and I'm not dead. I think you've learned about this house. Do you want to go and see your own again? Because hanging round a barbershop that Eric is

going to likely to get you shot."

"Eric's not going to do anything to the whole everyone around," David said, a voice delighted by his predictable parental banter, and settled by the thought of being kicked out of our house. "I just laughed at the people who told him to stop coming by. He's never going to stop coming by. He's never going to stop coming by. He's never going to stop coming by."

"David, it's not Eric I'm worried about. It's you," David was almost 15. He was running out of time, running out of money, running out of lives. And he was also reaching

A part of me wondered, every Friday and Saturday night, 'Will I ever see David again? Alive?'



OUT OF HASH'S WAY: In 2005, for everybody's safety, David went to school in the U.S.

out to me, looking for me to suggest more boundaries.

"David, you have a choice. You can live with us and promise to stay clear of places like this, and his life, friends, or you can move out of the house and let him live free and do by his own rules."

David chose the former option. Hard as he tried not to show it, he has a sweetness and gentleness about him that I had been watching. David thought, by his logic, he'd grown out of his mind-boggling impulsivity, a part of me wondered, every Friday and Saturday night that he ventured outside the house with his friends. "Will I ever see him again? Alive?"



BRITAIN: TORTOISES KEEP BETTER IN THE FRIDGE

A mild winter is warning tortoise lovers. Warm temperatures are causing the garden-reptiles to wake from hibernation, raising their body temperatures. And because they risk death from a sudden cold snap, any flock of the Tortoise Club is strongly encouraged to take tortoise lovers to bring them in before they wake and put them in the fridge. They'll stay at the right temperature and have enough air provided overnight until the door every day.

One beautiful fall day, a week or so after our barbershop conversations, I received from a long letter told by David, a voice delighted by his predictable parental banter, and settled by the thought of being kicked out of our house. "I just laughed at the people who told him to stop coming by. He's never going to stop coming by. He's never going to stop coming by."

"Eric's been arrested."

"What?"

"He was shot to death. In front of the Dean. He'd been using a protest stone."

I felt an intense relief. Then, an intense sadness. For the third time in 18 months a young man I knew, a man who'd spent time in my house, who'd shared meals with my family, had been shot dead. No one had ever scared me the way Eric had. But still, I kept

BURGERS 'N BIGOTS

At this 'unique' diner, white customers insult the mostly black staff

BY ALEXANDRA BRIMO • Race has been a key theme of the U.S. presidential primaries, with the Democratic race really divided between an African American man and a white woman. The media is full of caucuses analysis, but it is a video currently popular on the Web that illustrates some of the grimmer aspects of the race. The video, which first aired on the U.S. channel Show time, is about a diner called the Weiner Circle. The restaurant, a mid-first burger bar in a prosperous north Chicago area called Lincoln Park, draws customers from the widely scattered residents nearby office workers during the lunch hour, students after school, families and singles in the evenings, and a more steady crowd since the lunch close.

They come for the burgers, hot dogs, cooked fresh, not frozen—and, in the words of Justin Delaney, spokesperson for the Chicago Chapter of Citizens, a "unique" experience. Rather than "service with a smile," customers are belittled, insulted and cursed when they order. In turn, they are encouraged to give back as good as they get.

A full list of the daily insults heard would be far too long and not particularly pleasant to read, but the top five words you cannot see on television are everyday politeness. The bluntness for female dig is popular, as is the four letter curse word for human waste. "Tip the buster, you didn't tip the buster," is one my employees make sure they get good tips for putting up with the people problems.

Among the 35 some employees, there are a couple who are Hispanic, but most are African American, says David Johnson, a server at the restaurant. In contrast, the customers are usually white. That race divide becomes more pronounced at the morning. When people have had a few drinks, they "show their true colors," says Jane, a 39-year-old server who did not want to see her old name. As a city that has reputation for being hyper-segregated, that race relations can be racist, she adds. "Some customers get into it with us. They don't think it's big business yet where it's cool to do that."

For example, says Jane, there are people who phone the restaurant to call the server a wolf in the word. "When you answer, they'll say, 'Start up nigga,' and they will hang up



THE WEINER CIRCLE burger bar in Chicago

the phone." Others call the staff slaves, or the daughters of slaves, says Roberto "Poochie" Jackson, who cooks and works the cash register at the restaurant. Most says she has been called the word a number of occasions, something that is "above and beyond the call of duty." Customers also degrade the staff by calling them niggers or coons. "We get coons who say 'Do you have niggers or coons back

there?" That pisses us off!" Or someone, the insult has caused physical fights—between three people at a customer who called her the word because she was "too bad to be wanted to cry." Staff say they when they have complained about the racism, the owners have told them to move else. "They [the boss] said to us to look over anyone people," Jackson explains.

The owner of the restaurant, Barry Newman and Larry Gold, did not respond to Associated Press requests for an interview. However, in the past, Gold has taken credit for transforming what was once the most racist restaurant in the profession into a place where everyone is welcome. The concept has been great for business, according to a recent survey by the owners, profits have about doubled since the abuse began.

The sign are bigger at the Weiner Circle than at other restaurants, says Jane, a member of two who has worked there the past few years at night, customers frequently wave those who put up with their abuse. "People come from everywhere to come to our restaurant," she says. "Some of them are racist. They come here to get those things off their chests, and there's not really anything we can do." ■

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Poor Puccini!

On his 150th anniversary the composer has everything going for him except this: nobody can sing his music by JAIME J. WEINMAN

stage

Giuseppe Puccini, who was born 150 years ago this year and whose anniversary is inspiring a round of new productions and recordings, has been the most popular opera composer in the world for at least 300 of those 150 years. On *Operamania*'s list of the 25 most performed operas in North America, the top two are both by Puccini: *Madama Butterfly* and *La Bohème*. (He has two other operas, *Tosca* and *Manon*, in the top 10.) Even people who never go to see operas are familiar with Puccini's music: examples like *Nessun Dorma* (which has been sung by every famous tenor from Luciano Pavarotti to Paul Potts) and *O Mio Babbeo Caro* (a favorite note accompaniment) are known even to opera novices. So as his anniversary celebrations begin, Puccini has everything going for him except one thing: almost nobody can sing his music. At least, not in the singing, sensible way it was meant to be sung.

Puccini wasn't only the last great Italian opera composer, he was the last opera composer to become a true superstar, and the way music operates, his death (in 1924) only made him more popular. Michel Deleuze, artistic director of the Opéra de Marseille, says that Puccini's music "is immediately understandable to everybody. You listen to a Puccini melody and you're immediately drawn to it, you don't, like other composers, need to listen to several times to decode it."

And whereas other great

opera composers like Verdi and Wagner wrote operas about kings, aristocrats, or Nordic gods, Puccini increased his popular appeal by picking subjects set in a more or less real world. Oliver Stapp, a U.S. opera singer and director, explains that we can relate to Puccini characters because "he's us, he's poor, he's got kids, he's in love, he's needy, and we'll pay the most. They know our dimension." It's no wonder opera audiences, particularly younger people who prefer stories they can relate to, are drawn to Puccini.

And yet if you look at the biggest opera stars of today, almost none of them approach us as Puccini and few can even sing any of his operas. Puccini wrote for a type of voice that used to be very common in Italy and around the world: voices that may not have been subtle or agile, but could sing loud, intense music (including high notes) without strain. Stapp, who has sung at the Metropolitan Opera among other locales, and whose repertoire included such heavy Puccini roles as *Tosca*, explains that a Puccini voice "is an emotional voice, a visceral voice able to reach deeply into the listener's psyche. It has to carry over a large orchestra." But that kind of voice, once common, is now quite rare. Today's singers, even the ones who can sing Puccini, are trained to sing with what Stapp describes as "diminished color," diminished vitality, and overpronunciation. "It's light, almost instrumental sound that doesn't feel quite right for Puccini's music."

Singers, better suited to the opera from the earlier part of the 19th century by composers like Rossini or Bellini, where the music's less emotionally driving and the orchestras isn't as loud. There are only a few Puccini parts these singers are even vaguely suited for—a few of them singing the immensely popular *Nessun Dorma*, parts like *Cold in Rome* (the *Nessun Dorma* guy) or the title role in *Madama Butterfly* are mostly off limits to these voices. There are still many singers around who can get through a Puccini part, but they're not superstars; the stars bring out the crowds for less popular composers like Gounod or Donizetti, while Puccini operas are over with singers who can't fully take advantage of the music's opportunities.

It's a strange reversal from the way things were in Puccini's time. His wrote music that was extremely popular with major singers of his time and for years thereafter, stars like tenor Enrico Caruso (who starred in the premiere of Puccini's *The Girl of the Golden West*) loved Puccini because he gave him a chance to do the big, full, passionate singing they did best. Now that same music, writes to make singers sound good, these modern singers' weaknesses. Kenneth Fuchs, former music editor for the U.S. magazine *High Fidelity*, explains that if you listen to an older Puccini singer, like Enrico Caruso, Maria Callas or Mirella Freni, "you can hear how the composer not only took advantage of all those vocal resources but conspired to make them sound good. We've gotten to the point where Puccini's vocal writing has come to sound like some sort of obstacle course, whereas clearly he meant it as a gift."

You can't even find many national Puccini troupes in Puccini's native country. Italy's leading opera company, La Scala in Milan, is mounting a new production of *Il Trittico*, Puccini's trilogy of one act operas. But instead of the Italian superstars

'WE'VE GOTTEN TO THE POINT WHERE PUCCINI'S VOCAL WRITING HAS COME TO SEEM LIKE SOME SORT OF OBSTACLE COURSE, BUT HE MEANT IT AS A GIFT'

The most popular singers in the opera world today include soprano Karla Hennig and Anna Netrebko, mezzo Cecilia Bartoli, and tenors Rolando Villazón and Juan Diego Flórez—all of whom are basically lyric





WILL ARNETT is the new voice of K.I.T.T., the talking car in *Knight Rider*. When he replaced Canadian Will Arnett, it was big news.

Knight Rider's talking car says it all

The voice identified with a show is getting as much attention as the actors we actually see

BY ANNE J. HERRMAN • There's an updated version of the '80s show *Knight Rider* premiering on Sunday, Feb. 12. But does anyone care who's been cast in the lead? All the publicity is going to the actor who won't even appear on the show: the voice of K.I.T.T., the talking car. Initially, the voice was provided by Canadian actor Will Arnett, whom producer David Barrett described as having "the cadence to bring a new audience" to the show. But Arnett has been forced off *Knight Rider* by water-cooler struggles: he does commercials for General Motors, which refused to allow him to associate with the Ford-manufactured K.I.T.T. At the last minute, the producers brought in a former *Batman*, Will Arnett, to record all the dialogue for what has become the most unusual part of *Knight Rider*. In today's TV, a voice can be as important as the people we actually see.

There have been other live-action TV shows that have used voice-only parts; there were even other talking cars before K.I.T.T., like *Auto-9* and *My Mother the Car*. But now, voices are more important than ever, because rapidly shrinking running times mean that the narrative or voice-over character has to do the work of filling in any plot holes. That makes the choice of voice-over actors as important as any other kind of casting. *Desperate Housewives* depends heavily on its mostly unseen narrators; it replaced the original voice, Sheri Lee Lucas (Lucas, *Parker* from *Time* Park), after the pilot, bringing in Brenda Strong to narrate instead. Strong told *Los Angeles Sunday Mirror* that her character is as important to the show as the onscreen actors treat her as an equal. "The other girls see me as an integral part," she said, "so I don't feel isolated."

You wouldn't have found a voice-over getting that much attention a few years back, when voices were rarely used as selling points for a show. Wilkes Daniels (St. Elsewhere) agreed to voice the original K.I.T.T. only "with the stipulation that I would not get billing as the car." Today, celebrity voices are used to generate publicity. *How I Met Your Mother* uses Rob Segal to narrate as the older version of the lead character, Ted, whose younger incarnation is played onscreen by Josh Radnor (Radnor told *RadioEye.com* that the producers "told I sounded too young" to be the voice of his character's older self). Though not able to see, Segal is a known quantity in sitcoms—he turned for night scenes in *Full House*—and his presence provides some extra name value. Though he's not physically on the show, Segal has done promotional appearances and DVD commentaries for *A*, selling it to older viewers who might not otherwise tune in.

That's part of the point of celebrity voice casting: to allow networks to sign up good or famous actors who don't actually have the time to appear on the show in person. Sometimes the celebrity is a producer of the series. ChristaLock leads his voice-over *Everybody Loves Chris* and Ron Howard was the narrator of the now-cancelled but highly influential *Arrested Development*. Other than the ad-

dison of a voice is a way of keeping a promising actor employed by the network until an onscreen project spurs up. *Knight Rider*'s show *Arrested* was cancelled by the CW network, but the network had another job lined up for her, providing the voice over narration for the new show, *Group Girl*.

Even if an actor isn't that famous, the sound of the voice may be a selling point. The British actor Jon Dale was once the star of the *Scoundrel* hit *Benson*, now he's narrating *Pushing Daisies*, and the show has so much voice-over narration that Dale gets to talk more than some of the onscreen leads. While creator Bryan Fuller's script suggested Star Trek's Patrick Stewart as a narrator, Dale was chosen for his connection to a franchise even bigger than *Trek*: he reads the *Harry Potter* books on their official audio recordings. His voice, with its whimsical but slightly regal-as-check-one, helps attract *Harry Potter* fans to that other fantasy franchise.

The downside is that professional voice actors, who used to do most of the TV voicing, may be being pushed aside. It was once enough to have a show narrated by obscure actors, or to have K.I.T.T. voiced by a guy who didn't want to admit he was doing the job. Today, the search for a voice is the big part of casting decisions of all. Or as *Arrested* star who asked how he chose a *Knight Rider* voice: "It had to be believable coming out of a car, but that was wrapped inside a car." ■



ACCORDING TO TV... HITT ROMNEY

"Hitt Romney, the first Mormon candidate, has dropped out of the race. He says he wants to focus on 2012, which is how many wives he has." —Craig Ferguson

"A new poll found that he is favored by senior citizens. The seniors said it was behind opposition and 'let's do it.' —Comedian O'Brien
"Polls show the public doesn't want a president who looks like a cello governor." —David Letterman

PHOTO: LUTHERAL/GETTY IMAGES; ARNETT: PETER PUA

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THE ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury said recently that the introduction of sharia laws into the United Kingdom was "absolutely

So what would it take to alarm you?

Sharia in Britain? Taxpayer-subsidized polygamy in T.O.? Yawn. Nothing to see here.

BY BLADE STEPS

Since MacInnis got into a spot of bother with Canada's "human rights" pseudo-courts, I've been pleasantly surprised by the number of my modern converts who don't think it should be a "crime" for magazines to publish excerpts from books by yours truly. Nevertheless, in defending free speech in general, they usually feel obliged to display my exercise of it in a condemnatory

"While the book may be alarmist ..."
(CPUSA)

And, oh dear, even:

¹ 'The fear of a Muslimite tide' was almost ... (Tarek Fatah and Faruq Hassan in *Madness*)

Okay, enough already. I got the picture: alarmist, alarmist, alarmist. My book's thesis—that most of the Western world is on course to become at least semi-literate in its political and cultural disposition within a very short time—is "alarmist."

The question then arises: fair enough, guys, what would it take to alarm you? The other day, in a characteristically claimed speech followed by a rather more caustic BBC interview, the Archbishop of Canterbury said that it is not dangerous to have one law for everyone and that the introduction of sharia-Islamic law—to the United Kingdom was “inevitable.” No alarm bells going off yet? Can’t say I blame you. After all, do there creeping shams is well established in the Western world. Last week, the British and Western governments confirmed within days

of each other than thousands of polygamous men in their jurisdictions receive without payment for each of their wives. Still no alarm bells? I am female Muslim medical students in British hospitals are refusing to comply with hygiene procedures on the grounds that scrubbing requires them to lose their arms, which is un-Islamic. Should it be alright to bring that up—say, the day before your operation?

Sharia in Britain? The anglophobic-subaltern politics in *Thirteen* have nothing to do with her. True, if you imagined such things on Sept. 10, 2001, you saw Britain and Canada would have and you were nuts. But a few years on and it doesn't seem such a deal, and not all the next recession, and the one after that. It's hard to deliver a wait-or-die call for a *chikhele* so determined to smother the sharia deck in the soft fluff pillow of racialist fantasies and sleep in for another 10 years. The folks who call their book "alarms" accept that the Western world is growing near Muslim (Canada's Muslim population has doubled in the last 10 years), but they deny that this population threat has any significant material consequences. *Sharia vs. sausage*? Sam. *Polyphony*? What ever. *Honour killings*? Well, sure, but only a few. The assumption that you can copy the *Sharia Express* and put roads a couple of miles in one lightning leap of faith. More to the point, who are you relying on to "hold the line"? Influenced figures like the Archbishop of Canterbury? The bourgeoisie at Queens' Street? The Westminster elite is run by fellow none for these last holding-faiths when they're mending roads and they try to figure out what they'll be committing to five years' time.

The other night at dinner, I found myself sitting next to a Middle Eastern Muslim lady of a certain age. And the conversation was as it often does when you're with Muslim women who were at college in the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s: in this case, my divorced companion had just been at a conference on "women's issues", of which there are many in the Muslim world, and she was struck by the phrase used by the "incident Muslim" chair of the meeting: "authentic women"—by which she meant women wearing hijabs. And my friend pointed out that when she and her ex-husband had been in their 20s they wore the "authentic women" covering: because so far old village buildings, the Islamic equivalent of gravelled down autobahns, would never have occurred to her that the assumptions of other generations would prove to be off by 180 degrees—that in middle age, women and young Muslim men were wearing the "authentic women" covering, as you see in the Middle East but in America and London and Moscow. They had walked her in 1968 that Westminster Muslim women working in British hospitals in the early 1970s would reject the model because it required them solitary figures, she would have scoffed with the certainty of one who assumes that Ninety years is only one dimension.

In neither of these non-alarmist nothing-to-see-here stances, a British government minister tentatively raised the matter of severe birth defects among the children of Palestinian Muslims. Some 37 per cent of Palestinian babies are married to their first cousin, and this places their progeny at increased risk of certain health problems. This is the only way a culturally sensitive West can raise some of these topics: nothing against cousin marriage, old boy, but it places a bit of a strain on the old health care budget.

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It's not the polygroup, it's the four welfare cheques you're collecting for it.

But this is a heavy penny-see and pound the word. What does it mean when 57 per cent of Pakistanis live in one roomed to five roomed houses and 20 per cent are married to relatives? At the very least, it tells you that this country is strongly inclined to traditional, integralist assimilation patterns. Of course in any society, certain groups are self-segregating: the Arabs, the Memons and what not. But when that group is not merely a curiosity on the fringe of the map but the principal source of population growth in all your major cities, the challenge posed by that self-segregation is of sufficient order. There are now towns in northern England where counter-migration to the north 'Pakistanis' are considered 'the host community' and the English are the 'guest community'. In Pakistan, things are far from ideal. In 1970 that by the year 2001 half the country would be densely packed for half the land area, and close to the chocking of first cousins, be- cause have found it inescapable.

But it happened. By "alarm," *The Economist* and Co. readily agree, "naming the subject." Last year, the British novelist Martin Amis noted the salience of my book with Terry Eagar and asked him if, when he got together with his fellow prime ministers, the Communist demographic picture was part of the "European conversation." Mr. Blair replied with disarming honesty, "It's a subterranean conversation." "Of course what that means," wrote Amis, "The rebels of reformism find

The demographic question is separated in resolutions that it is not solved and accessible. The "multiculturalist" ideologue," he added "cannot engage with the fact that a) the indigenous populations of Spain and Italy are due to have every 35 years, and b) that entails certain consequences."

Whether or not it's "skirmish" is pondered what those consequences might be, under Canada's "human rights" kangaroo courts.

might even be illegal. All Section 13 cases brought to the federal Human Rights Commission end in defeat for the defendant, so if MacIner's fails to buck the 100 per cent conviction rate, it would be exposed for publishing anything that might relate to the "hate speech" in question—in other words, we would be legally proscribed from writing about Islam and the West, demographic trends in Canada, and many other topics.

What would we be permitted by the state to write about? How about Nazis? It's been years since I've read into it, but apparently they're everywhere. A British blogger, good-looking by the look, said there were more Nazis than Muslims in England. He'll go to Canada, meanwhile, defenders of Section 13 of the Human Rights Code—the one that makes “criminally” of Holocaust—were that if the prime minister's cousin of Keith Munnick MP, proposing its repeal were to succeed. Nazis would be free to profile their dangerous Nazi tendencies to people-minded Canadians who might lack the fortitude to resist. Awareness of the Nazi plot waiting to ensue!

Domestic since Section 23 is repealed, Little Spain doctor Warren Kinsella posted on his website a photograph he'd taken of a man's room wall showing the words "WILL POWER" and a scribble smeared on the wall at knee height. Why Mr. Kinsella is photographing public toilets on his knees I don't know, but every guy needs a hobby. At any rate, Warren sees this doctor's graffiti as official evidence of the transverse Nash thrust on the reasonable mind.

I'm something of a *phobophile*. I don't subscribe to the concepts of "homophobia" and "heterophobia." They're a little rhetorical sleight to end the argument by denying it's an argument at all: you don't have a political disagreement with the over gay marriage or abstinence, you have mental illness. So don't worry, we can give you counseling and medication and your "phobia" will eventually go away. Yet "homophobia" is the most

WAGLE AND BESTSELLERS

COMPLETED BY: JESSICA M. BETHUNE

Fiction

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| 8 | THE UNKNOWN READER
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SPARKS IS DEAD
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Non-Action

- | | | | |
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| 5 | FIVE SUN CLIMBS SLOW | By Maria Perle | 0.99 |
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| 7 | HOW TO TALK ABOUT BOOKS YOU HAVEN'T READ | By Perle's boyfriend | 6.00 |
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| 9 | THE GEOGRAPHY OF HOPE | By Chris Hedges | 0.99 |
| 10 | THE REFORMERS | By Michael Ondaatje | 0.99 |

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1997, 34, 1, 1-15.

ding—an immoral list of nine mortal Nazis. And so Canada's leading "human rights" hero is Richard Watson, a man whose Naziophilia was advanced he hailed the "Canadian Nazi Party" before the "Human Rights" Tribunal. Even so, though, as the Tribunal was eventually forced to rule, no such party exists.

Due here to pursue phenomena as the world transforms. Is it time, polygraph, routine fine couple marriage in the interests of Canada or Britain or Europe? Oh, dear, even to make the subject, it is to put into all kinds of words. Suitable terms for the multilateral process. It's easier just to look the other way, or go New-hunting at the men's room. Nobody wants to be unpleasant, or judgemental, or dicy? What was it dicy in the Cold War? Better dead than dead. We're not like that any more. Better screwed than nude. ■

BEIRUT'S STEEL MAGNOLIA: As star and director of *Caramel*, Lebanon's Nadine Labaki sets a feminist romantic comedy in a war-torn

Oasis of beauty between the bombs

Gems from Israel and Lebanon detonate taboos behind the lines of war-torn countries

BY BRIAN G. JOHNSON • Foreign films have an image problem. North American audiences are often afraid of anything with subtitles, will be uncomfortable with any overtly depressing, or simply oddball. Sometimes they're right. But outside the festival circuit, just a tiny fraction of world cinema even makes it to the multiplex. And the foreign films that do get that far tend to be proven crowd pleasers. This month marks the release of two stellar favorites from festivals in Cannes and Toronto—*The Beat of Their Hearts* and *Caramel*, which both focus on and Lebanon respectively. These two feature debuts are both lovely films with universal appeal—tender, heartwarming comedies about characters trying to overcome cultural conservatism. And which is remarkable is that both come from war-torn countries—yet there's hardly a whiff of war in either of them.

In *The Beat of Their Hearts*, a military police officer travels from Egypt to Israel to perform as a cultural envoy. When he arrives there on the pretext, they take a turn to the wrong destination and get involved on the outskirts of an obscure town in the Israeli desert. A free-spirited call center worker (Roni Eliazari) finds them and offers to put them up for the night. At lunch, one of them glances up at a photograph of a tank on the wall beside his table. Without a word, he smooches his police cap and places it over the picture.

That quiet gesture speaks volumes. It sets the tone for a story that throws a hand of military Arabs into the lexicon of ordinary Israelis, and no one talks politics. The situation is uncomfortable enough as it is in the Egyptian, arranges in powder-blue uniforms, roll their luggage through the dust of a suburban desert they look like those who have reached

down on an unfamiliar planet.

It's a tale of gender inclusion. The first-time call center worker (Roni Eliazari) isn't he agrees to join her for dinner, then slowly discovers the melancholy and behind his reserve. "This war is terrible (Nadine Labaki) is a closet trans player with the pickup line "Do you like Gert Baker?"—is really grey. But he ends up tagging along with her to his on a double date in a dimly lit roller disco.

With very dialogue (mostly in accented English, with subtitles), Israeli writer-director Eran Kalem displays an understated wit rare in Israeli or French film. He composes emotion out of silence and space. And in the tale of romance hiding their true, music is the ultimate delayed gratification. When it comes, it's not the military lead.

Caramel is equally smooching on its own lead. The last thing you would expect to flower from the ruins of Beirut is a love story. It's a beautiful, romantic comedy that's spiked with gender politics and brings with warmth and hope. The film also marks an accomplishment that's rare in any culture: a film that's so warm and directed by a beautiful woman who also co-stars with a largely female cast of (pro)professionals.

Lebanon's Nadine Labaki, 33, has created a Middle Eastern, neo-realism *Magnolia*,

but with an erotic wit more akin to *Almodóvar*. Set in a Beirut hair salon, *Caramel* intertwines the stories of five women, each wrestling with a social taboo. A young Muslim working in the salon wants her boss to sexually reconnoiter to feel a *Kawab* who thinks she's a virgin. A manager and closet who's lost her husband goes younger women crown plastic surgery. A divorcee has a lesbian crush. An aging spinster is seduced after decades. And Labaki's own character is a Christian involved with a married man.

The film's title refers to the catalyst that Lebanese women use instead of war to remove hair. But it could also refer to the ever-looming specter of the film's making. *Caramel* is Lebanon's first movie that doesn't mention a civil war, but fresh hostilities broke out one week after the end of the shoot. As a result, Labaki spent three years in Montreal as her family fled the war in the last '90s. After *Caramel*'s Toronto festival premiere last fall, she told us she has "a love-hate relationship" with Lebanon. "Nothing's going right but there's so much warmth coming out of these people. It's very contradictory, and it shows in the film."

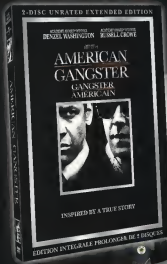
Caramel might unfairly get dismissed as a "chick flick." But Labaki, citing bad boy hip-hop Lars von Trier and the *Corin* brothers as big influences, has no woman in film. "I don't want to feel like I'm doing feminism," she says. "I want to feel I'm spying on other people's lives, showing reality the way it is—but in an entertaining way." ■



WE'RE STALKING — TOM JONES

Just help you sell to his legs, to his arm and his unfettered hairy chest. The 62-year-old Welsh dyabolo, who recently performed in Las Vegas and will be playing at the New Zealand, has landed off a British newspaper report that he's insured his hairy front porch with Lloyd's of London for \$7 million. Jones, who lives in Los Angeles, is making a new album, has made (through his website) "No such insurance policy exists or has ever been considered."

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CHRISTOPHER THOMAS MORRISSEAU

1979-2008

He was a natural in front of the camera and behind, but he could never quite escape from his past

Christopher Thomas Morrisseau was born in Thunder Bay, Ont., on Jan. 2, 1979, the only child of Tim Marikane and Carol Morrisseau. Part Ojibway, part Irish, he was a happy baby, with a wide smile and stark, blue eyes. Everyone called him "Blue"—a nickname that stuck for life.

Chris was raised by his mother and extended family from the Fort William First Nation, just outside the city. Admired but mischievous, he often found trouble (as it found him). Once, during a visit to the reserve, two-year-old Chris sat behind the wheel of his Uncle Brent's pickup, playing with the gearshift. When the truck began rolling backward toward the lake, Brent got out and the children, who were jumping inside, and dived out the backseat just in time. "He did bad things," says his mother, Carol. "But he had a real good heart. He cared about everybody."

Still, Chris was not immune to the scary sensations of life on the reserve. He dropped out of high school, dabbled in drugs and booze, and was still a teenager when his first child was born—a daughter named Anna Marie. Andre Morrisseau, an uncle living in Toronto, was so concerned that he offered Chris a place on his couch. He agreed, but on one condition: that his former black cat—Stearns—be allowed to come, too. "At first it

was trying, but 99 per cent of the time it was pure joy," says Andre, who became a father figure to his nephew. "I loved being around him." Andre helped Chris find odd jobs (busboy, telemarketer) but he also encouraged him to pursue acting. "He was extraordinarily talented, creative and very handsome," he says. One day, Andre introduced Chris to his friend Dennis Cardinal, an actor who starred alongside Brad Pitt in *A River Runs Through It*. "I looked at her and said, 'They Thoreau, doesn't he look like Brad?' And she said, 'Oh yeah!'"

Andre paid to have Chris professionally photographed, but when the acting offers never came, Chris turned increasingly to the bottle. He drank hard, fathered another boy (a son named Ralston) and eventually moved back to Thunder Bay. Christopher, Jr., his third child, was born four years ago. Shortly after that, Chris was arrested and sentenced to 18 months in prison for stealing a pair of jeans and a jacket and slugging a security guard with an elastic leash.

When he was granted parole last May, Chris returned to his uncle's Toronto apartment and enrolled in a film production course

offered by Indigenous Culture & Media Institutions, a charity that promotes Aboriginal art. Finally, Chris had found a purpose. He was a natural, both in front of the camera and behind. "It seemed as though this was the best thing that ever happened to him," says Ellen Moragay, who taught the course. "As a teacher, I like to say I had favorites, but he was one of my favorites."

A few days into the class, a new student walked through the door. Kendra Bailey. Chris would later confess that he fell in love at first sight. Within weeks, the two were inseparable. He wrote her long letters and gushy poetry, and he confided in her like no one else before. He now hovers with her about the drinking and the drugs. "He called me his angel," she says. "He really started to turn his life around. It was his goal to make our lives better together."

And he was determined to beat his addiction. Weeks would pass without him touching a drop, and when he did relapse, Kendra gently encouraged him to try a little harder. "I helped him to see that he still had the opportunity to do what he wanted, to do more than what people seemed to think he could do," she says. But Chris couldn't quite escape his past. A urine test, conducted in December as part of his parole conditions, turned up traces

of marijuana. He was shipped back to prison, this time to Joyceville Institution in Kingston, Ont.

A few weeks later, his class screened its final project: *Lucy 13*, a short film about a group of students who won a \$13-million lottery. As the movie unfolded, each viewer a mysteriously randomized Christopher's character, a detective, drinks a beer laced with poison.

Chris was sad that he couldn't watch the premiere with the others, but he remained positive, even behind bars. "I got letters to Brenda, he repeated his desire to sober up and spend his life with her." They were some of the most inspiring letters I've ever read," she says.

In the late afternoon of Jan. 21, a Wednesday, three Joyceville inmates were rushed to hospital in "varying stages of medical distress." A fourth, Chris Morrisseau, was pronounced dead in the ER. According to prison officials, each man drank from a bottle of wine made alcohol—believed to be a medicinal mixture of coffee, soap, detergent and antifreeze. Chris had six weeks left to serve.

BY MICHAEL PRISCOLANTI



Home, sweet hybrid home.

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